

DOUBLE ISSUE: 15TH ANNUAL POLL • IMAGES OF '98 • CLINTON ON TRIAL

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

DECEMBER 28, 1998 / JANUARY 4, 1999



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From The Editor

A swing back to the centre



For 15 years, *Maclean's* has explored the mood of the nation—and this year the annual poll shows the prediction swinging back to the centre. After a decade of fiscal conservatism—and improving economic indicators for many Canadians—there is substantial support for government action on a variety of fronts. The trend is triggered by soaring concerns about the state of health care and social services (they were not measurable in an issue only three years ago). A huge majority of respondents also believes there is a growing gap between rich and poor and half of all those surveyed see the government should intervene to improve the lot of have-nots. In the event of a recession, expected by 43 per cent of respondents, there is comparatively less faith in the free market than in government spending to solve the problem. There is intense dissatisfaction with high taxes, yet using a government surplus to cut them is the least favoured of three possible uses—the others being paying down the deficit or increasing spending on social programs.

The trend is not encouraging for those who are attempting to forge a new coalition on the right of the political spectrum. Not only does the poll indicate that Canadian society is largely liberal in orientation—53 per cent of Canadians identify with the party, compared with 37 per cent for the Conservatives and 11 each for Reform and the NDP.

Despite all the huffing and puffing about cutting the right, the nation has not wavered wide support, even in Western Canada. Overall, 43 per cent of respondents rejected the idea of a Reform "fury

mission, with 53 per cent opposed in British Columbia and 50 per cent against across the Prairies. Even if the two parties are brought together, their combined support in the survey is still 23 points behind the Liberals. And after 11 years of constant effort,

Reform leader Preston Manning may find himself, PC chief Joe Clark and Alberta Premier Ralph Klein as a potential leader of a united alternative of conservatives. One prime reason for Manning's low standing is that almost half of Reform respondents prefer Klein—but they don't like Clark.

The poll contains plenty of good news for Joe Clark. There is no great dissatisfaction with his job (he is doing as best, 55 per cent say they are satisfied, which, after his five years in office, is eight points better than Brian Mulroney's rating in 1995, a year after he won his first electoral victory). Canadians clearly have been content to have a prime minister who insists he has no social agenda or reforms.

Of late, Clark has appeared to have sensed the renewed support for government action. In recent weeks, he has begun making a stronger voice on behalf of the central government, rejecting the provinces' call for a meeting to discuss the federal budget, insisting on Ottawa's leadership role in resolving health-care reform. Canadians may not want grand designs, but they want the state to step up to bat in areas of trouble.



Clark's support for government

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes:

A 15th anniversary

This issue marks the 15th time that *Maclean's* has capped the year with a survey of the mood of Canadians. "Responses to our year-end poll have often turned conventional wisdom on its head," notes Allan Gregg, chairman of the publishing firm The Springhouse Council, who has been at the centre of the project every year from the outset. Notable this year is a growing interest in reform health-care and other social programs (de-



Woodhead team left with Gregg/Kayle, Editor, Marshall, Salomon, Ryan at year end

spite a persistent focus on fiscal prudence. "And over the last few years," adds Gregg, "we're still impressed at how willingly Canadians pour their souls out on everything from their view of politicians to the details of their own sex lives." Beginning on page 18, this year's package was overseen by Assistant Managing Editor Robert Marshall and designed by Assistant Art Director John Edney, with pictures collected by Associate Photo Editor Kristine Rapp.

This double issue also looks back at 1998 with a 21-page pictorial review of the major events that shaped the nation and the world (page 77). Designed by Senior Editor Bertha Woodhead, it was designed by Associate Art Director Gaille Sobush.

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Another View



Charles Gordon

How warm weather threatens our society

This was the usual mid-December drive in the eastern Ontario countryside, except that there was no snow on the road, no snow in the trees, no snow on the fields. The temperature had not dipped below freezing and there were reports, purely second-hand, of blizzards blowing and lakes trying to come up.

A couple of years ago if this had happened, Canadians in the colder parts of the country would all have had the same reaction: "We'll pay for it." It is our duty as Canadians to suffer the colds and the snow and the wind in order to earn the precious brief warm thaws in which our country can be a paradise.

People still say that now—we'll pay for it. But not all of them. In the parts of Ontario and Quebec hit by last winter's ice storm, people have been known to say when unexpected good weather hits: "We've prepaid for it." And sometimes now, thinking of the ice storm and the warm summer and the warm fall and the warm winter they say: "This is kind of spooky."

When they say that, they are talking about global warming, and the notion that it may be upon us already. Not everyone is all that daunted at the idea. A couple of extra degrees could cause us hardly in the winter months, keep the snow off the driveway, keep the car from freezing up, make the walk to the store a bit more tolerable. But then, you think about winter and Canada. You know the words of that French-Canadian singer: "My country is winter." What is Canadian Christmas without snow? What happens to Christmas shopping, now a major component of the economy? How do the kids play hockey outdoors, an integral ingredient in their development as Canadians?

What happens to the people who work at the ski hills, who make skis and hockey sticks and windshield wipers anymore? What happens to Ottawa's tourist trade if the Rideau Canal doesn't freeze? What does Quebec City do without Winter Carnival?

What will become of us? The question is not facetious. In fact, parts of our climate may become quite welcoming, attracting people from all over the world, particularly from those parts of the world that are newly covered in dust and sand. Are we ready for that? If eastern Ontario, for example, becomes a pleasant year-round climate, do the crops still grow in Saskatchewan? Or is it that? And do we put out a welcome mat to all those people who used to be put off by our climate—Americans, for example—who decide that it is where they want to hang their hats, now that it is warmer and has plenty of water? Does our country stop being the world's best kept secret?

See how just a few warm days lead Canadians to think about the end of the world. But then, there is reassurance at a cheese shop in a town. There, when the conversation turns to the warm weather,

the woman behind the counter replies in the old Canadian way: "We may pay dearly for it." This sense of a link with our traditions breaks when a glance at the wall reveals a large sign giving the cheese shop's Internet address. Which involves a large question about the end of the world.

A few years, around this time, we could be in a state of complete hysteria over the imminent collapse of many of the world's important computers. Not only will we not be able to access the cheese shop's Web site, we may not be able to successfully use airplanes, drive our cars, cook, watch television, pay taxes or do any of the things we enjoy doing. To make matters worse, according to this year's newspapers, some of us will be stockpiling canned goods and storing our seeds to the teeth in preparation for a complete breakdown of everything, as a natural consequence of which, desperate folks will be breaking down our doors, looking to make off with our meagre storable items. People are already nervous about that now, never mind all the uncertainty about the weather, and you can imagine how nervous everyone will be in a year, with the big crisis only days away.

Unfortunately, this millennium thing plays into the built-in fears of those locked to see the end of the world around every corner. The Y2K thing, the part where all the computers stop and the satellites fall out of the sky, raising cable TV reception, gives the world-wide focus a focus for their fears. Already, as some know for certain and many others only suspect, the computer that runs Canadian weather has stopped working. And the real fun has not begun yet.

Some small relief could come if people released a bit and went away on the mountains, but, said to be so, it is not only the end of

the winter when we're enthusiastic about the Y2K and all it portends. The news media have now decided that it makes a darn good story. Not only a darn good story, but a darn good story with legs. This baby—with people stockpiling and hoarding and arming themselves—will last another entire year. Here's a document quoted in the newspapers that proposes the government develop emergency orders and regulations to deal with the possibility of what is described as "widespread chaos." There are doubts that even limited chaos is within our grasp. And, moreover, new quantile experts are appearing every day, each with a longer list of the vital components of our society that will cease operations, precisely at the stroke of that particular midnight.

It will not be easy in the time between now and then, for the people of the world to learn, collectively, the necessary relaxation techniques. How do we stop staring nervously at the clock? For a start, we may have to stop paying attention to the news. Then, we have to figure out how to take our minds off it, talk about something else. Perhaps not the weather, though.

What is Canadian Christmas without snow? What does Quebec City do without Winter Carnival? What will become of us?

How can something be both
greater than and less than?



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Opening Notes

Edited by JAMES LAMARCA



Smiling On in Last Night's musical coup

The year's brightest screen gems

At the movies, it was a pair of dark comedy, political satire and musical dramas. And Hollywood lived some pictures as much it made them feel. There were two major movies (Amadeus, Deep Impact), two cartoons about kids with teeth (Jaws, A Bug's Life), two tales of youthful but sinister-buffa rebellion after young Alvin-



Out of Sight's Christopher Lloyd



Don McKellar in Saving Private Ryan, one of the year's epics

can men (Jade and Monsters, Love and Death on Long Island), two fantasies about people trapped in the evilized gothic of TV series (The X-Files Show, Presumed Dead), two dramas about mothers (Sleepers, One True Thing) and her Second World War epic (Saving Private Ryan) and The Thin Red Line—opening in Canada in January). This year of Bill Clinton's undoing also saw a trio of timely political satires (Private Colors, Wag the Dog, Bulworth). And there was a slew of indie-buzzing black comedies, including Happiness, Your Friends and Neighbors, Very Bad Things, and the goes-out-on-fire There's Something About Mary. Film critic Peter D. Johnson writes his personal favorites:

1. **The Celebration** Danish wunderkind Thomas Vinterberg's mild drama about a family meltdown at a patriarch's birthday party takes black comedy with inconspicuous charm.

2. **Last Night** Canadian Don McKellar hosts an end-of-the-world party with Craigie Kerr, Penne, Sandra Oh, Catherine Deneuve and David Cronenberg. A satirical coup.

3. **Bulworth** Of the year's three political satires, Warren Beatty is the most sophisticated, the most outrageous—and the best. Beautifully shot by Vittorio Storaro, it's a gem.

4. **Private Colors** The liberal turn-of-millennium American liberalism turns black and blue.

5. **Happiness** Among 1998's many black comedies, Todd Solondz's is the sharpest, and the most unsettling. Along with There's Something About Mary, it imbues stoner gaps to mainstream movies.

6. **Out of Sight** Redemptive low-rent star George Clooney and Jennifer Lopez. Steven Soderbergh makes the year's most stylish crime flick. Stills-of-the-art Emma Leonard.

7. **Shakespeare in Love** Tom Stoppard's wit runs 1998's most inventive romantic comedy. A rare blend of light and beauty.

8. **A Simple Plan** Billy Ray Thornton is a recluse in Sam Raimi's tale of three men who find a bag of cash in the snow.

9. **Life is Beautiful** Gloaming on halfhearted ground, Roberto Benigni conquers fearfully out of the Holocaust.

10. **Saving Private Ryan** The war movie to end war movies. Exemplary acting and Spielberg's visceral direction provide convincing fire for the script's combat clichés.

Honorable mentions: The X-Files Show, Saving Grace, High Art, Scents of Beverly Hills, Under the City.



Warren Beatty in Bulworth: satire

Weird and weirder

The weather wasn't the only odd and unpredictable news from this year. The proof? Some of the weirder news stories of 1998

■ When a New York City sixth grade teacher refused to switch the classroom television set from educational programming to *The Jerry Springer Show*, four girls, aged 11 and 12, hatched a plan to send her to the hospital.

■ An Ottawa restaurateur successfully sued a Canada Trust branch after they didn't show up for their Christmas party. Fred Raskin, owner of the Steak & Caesar restaurant, was \$1,700 in a small court claim from the bank, after a judge ruled that making a dinner reservation was a binding contract.

■ A Manchester, England teenager obsessed with general hygiene decided to himself to death. The coroner reported that Jonathan Capewell died of a massive cardiac arrest induced by high blood levels of the basic chemicals found in his arterial dead-end.

■ Phyllis Smith of Kingston, Ont., got the shock of her life when she left the window down to her car last May. When she returned from a shopping trip, Smith found her vehicle full of bees—nearly 3,000 of them. Apparently the queen bee took a liking to Smith's Plymouth and they swarmed followed her in. It took her keepers two hours to rid the car of the buzzing mass.

■ The French company Neyret sponsored plans for "cooling" underarms. Starting with an intricate lace, which, when stretched tight, will give off scents of apricot, apple, grapefruit or watermelon.

■ In East Hampton, Mass., authorship-charged Kim Ronstadt with attempting to expurgate her ex-boyfriend's poems to his leg after he admitted he was interested in her only for sex.

■ A British millionaire and his wife who moved to the English coastline tried to escape the city used to him because they were irritated by the road and noisy cars on his farm. The judge threw out the case.

Passages



Died: Founder of Donat Petrus

DIED: Founder of Donat Petrus, 82, of cancer, in Calgary. A Harvard-educated geologist, Gallagher started his career in the late 1930s with the Geological Survey of Canada. He founded Dome in 1950, eventually building it into one of the largest Canadian-owned oil and gas companies. His megawatt smile earned him the nickname "Smiley Jack." But there was no smiling in 1992, when Dome—battered with a \$7.03-billion debt—went under Gallagher, who suffered a personal loss estimated at more than \$118 million, left the company, which was eventually sold to Amoco. He was also active in the political arena with the Liberals, and in 1976 persuaded the federal government to grant lucrative tax write-offs for oil firms in exploration. The break became known as the Gallagher Amendment.

RESIGNED: Jocelyne Bourgon, 48, as Clerk of the Privy Council, in Ottawa. Representing her in the top job in the public service in Mel Cappe, 50, who has been deputy minister of human resources development since 1996.

RESIGNED: Peter Herndorf, 58, as chairman and CEO of TVOntario, in Toronto. Herndorf has led the provincial educational broadcaster for seven years.

AWARDED: The 1998 Lou Marsh Award for top Canadian athlete to Colorado Rockies outfielder Larry Walker, 38, in Toronto. Walker led the National League in batting with a .366 average while hitting 33 homers and driving in 67 runs.

ANNOUNCED: By Olympic gold medal swimmer Mark Tewksbury, 30, that he is gay, in Toronto. Tewksbury, who won the 100-m backstroke race at the Barcelona Games in 1992, is a motivational speaker.

Melodious marvels A selection of the year's best CDs

PDP: The Tragically Hip—Phantom Power (Universal)
Katie Waugh—Katie Waugh (Universal)
Lacuna—Lacuna—Car Wars on a Gravel Road (Mercury)
Barnes & Barnes—Barnes & Barnes

JAZZ: Herbie Hancock—Gershwin's World (PolyGram)
Johnny Favorite Swing Orchestra—Holiday Romance (Universal)
Nicholas Payton—Payton's Jazz (PolyGram)
Tyler Parrott & His Rhythm—Gotta Burn! New Soul (PolyGram)



Various artists—Greatest Hits of the Twentieth Century (PolyGram)



Various artists—Greatest Hits of the Twentieth Century (PolyGram)

CLASSICAL: Anne-Sophie Mutter—Beethoven Violin Sonatas (PolyGram)
Various artists—Greatest Hits of the Twentieth Century (PolyGram)
Mendelssohn—Mendelssohn (PolyGram)
Best of Wagner—German Romantic Opera (BMG)

Rock, R&B, Pop: Mutter—Greatest Hits of the Twentieth Century (PolyGram)



Various artists—Greatest Hits of the Twentieth Century (PolyGram)



Various artists—Greatest Hits of the Twentieth Century (PolyGram)

BEST-SELLERS

1. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
2. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
3. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
4. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
5. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
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7. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
8. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
9. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
10. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)

NONFICTION

1. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
2. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
3. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
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8. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
9. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)
10. The Love of a Good Woman, Alan Watts (1)

FILED: Bruce papers by actress Linda Hamilton, 41, signed. Basic director James Cameron, 44, in Los Angeles. Cameron, a native of Niagara Falls, Ont., and Hamilton have been married since 1997 and have a five-year-old daughter.

DIED: Television actor Norman Fell, 74, of cancer, in Los Angeles. He is best known for his character, Mr. Roper, on the hit 1970s sitcom Three's Company.

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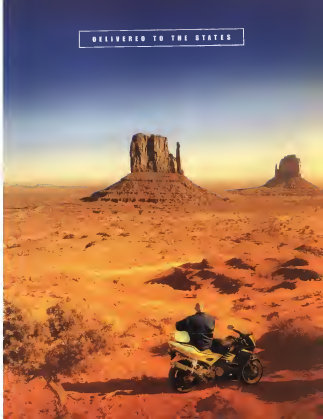
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Percentage saying Chrétien should not run for a third term: Quebecers **60**
Rest of Canada **43**

Percentage saying they are more optimistic about the future than they were a decade ago: Quebecers **28**
Rest of Canada **33**

Percentage saying they are more confident of their ability to look after their economic interests than they were a few years ago: Quebecers **69**
Rest of Canada **64**

Percentage citing health, education and other social services as the most important problem: Women **30**
Men **12**



Chrétien: a slim majority says he should not run for a third term

In sync with the voters

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

MACLEAN'S CBC POLL: NATIONAL MOOD

Time to his small-town, cautious estate, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien likes to say that when it comes to making promises, perhaps his most important vow is that he will not make too many. "I don't believe in the vision thing, in grand promises and projects," Chrétien said in a 1994 interview. "For me, I am a problem-solver." That helps explain why in two federal elections since he became leader of the Liberal party in 1990, the party's platform has been modest, ambiguous and focused more on tinkering with old programs than on creating new ones. The highlight of their 1993 campaign, for example, was a relatively inexpensive commitment to provide \$8 billion to repair elements of the country's infrastructure. In 1997, the Liberals' key promise was that once they had eliminated the annual budget deficit, they would take care not to spend all of the surplus in any one place.

Hardly the stuff of political legend, but it was enough to propel the Liberals to their first back-to-back majorities since the 1950s. And, based on the findings of the Maclean's/Sonoma Canada poll, the Liberals' preference reflects the wishes and attitudes of respondents countrywide. Never mind that Chrétien has been named in the media for much of the last year for his uneven performance on a variety of issues his level of support remains remarkably high for someone who has been in office for more than five years. For one, that is in a deep display of political lip-splitting, respondents show a strong preference for his Liberal party over all other contenders—but at the same time, a slim majority do not want him to lead the Liberals into another election. If he does run again, the poll suggests that his most serious opponent may not be the Reform party's Preston Manning, leader of the official Opposition, but rather Joe Clark, the former leader of the Progressive Conservatives.

On the eve of a new wilderness, Canadians are divided among optimism, pessimism, and uncertainty about the future, particularly on economic issues. The election of the Parti Québécois and the prospect of another referendum may have jiggered the interest of politicians and the media, but not that of many Canadians. Fewer than one in 10 respondents cite national unity as their greatest concern. Instead, they worry about unemployment, health care, social services and education programs, and what is widely seen as a growing gap between rich and poor.

And as crucial federal-provincial bargaining gets under way concerning the so-called social union with the provinces seeking greater control from Ottawa over social programs, a majority side with them on a key basic of contention: 59 percent say Ottawa should not be allowed to establish rules governing such programs as a condition of giving the provinces money. At the same time, respondents wish that government would provide a greater sense of equity among Canadians, but doubt its ability to do so.

Those same mixed feelings are evident on the unity front. Overall, Canadians feel less than they have in the past about their country's constitutional future, but still consider the question of Quebec's place in Canada far from resolved. And they do not regard Chrétien as the best choice to lead the federal side into another referendum—his mandate reserved for the Quebec Liberals' Jean Charest (page 28). In fact, in virtually every major policy area, the

good news for both the ruling Liberals—and for other Canadians—is interspersed with doubts or outright skepticism about the future. Even as economic globalization makes the world seem in once smaller and yet more forbidding, respondents appear content with their place in it. Strong majorities do not think they would be any better off if they lived in another country, and feel confident of the ability to look after themselves. Part of the reason is a growing trend towards individualism in recent years: more than 70 per cent of respondents think they themselves—as opposed to government, labour unions or business leaders—are best able to take care of their economic interests.

But behind that veneer of muscular self-reliance lie some hidden concerns. One reason Canadians feel more inclined to take care of themselves is that, in an era of government cost-cutting and reduced services, they clearly feel they have no choice. But there is still some nostalgia for bigger government. By an overwhelming margin, respondents say their greatest concerns for the future are a faltering economy and resultant unemployment, while worries over government costs and the size of the deficit rank far behind. Those worries, applied towards the future, may be well founded: a forecast released recently December by the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development said that Canada's lagging productivity could lead to a standard of living to fall dramatically over the next 20 years.

And more than 70 per cent of respondents think the government should deal with unemployment by either increasing spending to stimulate the economy, or by providing more money for the unemployed. Fewer than a quarter think the problem should be resolved by letting the free market run its course. Similarly, 50 per cent think the government should increase its steps a growing gap between rich and poor, while only 18 percent think it is worth doing little or nothing at all. On the other hand, in fact, more than a quarter issued early in December by the United Nations committee on economic, social and cultural rights. It criticized Canada's treatment of groups including aboriginals, the poor and homeless and called for the federal government to spend more money on social programs that have been either eliminated or reduced in size as part of deficit-fighting efforts in the last decade.

On the surface, none of that may seem to bode well for the Liberals because of their commitment to avoid spending increases and keep the budget balanced. But once again, respondents seem to approve of their middle-of-the-road approach. When asked how any future surplus should be spent, respondents suggested a fairly even distribution of the money for tax cuts, paying down the national debt, and increasing money spent on health and other social service programs. That roughly parallels government plans for spending any surplus. In short, Canadians and their policies seem to be in sync: to wish they had greater resources available to throw at problems, but recognize that they do not.

That, in turn, has led people to reduce their expectations of what government can do for them—a road set that helps the party in power. But along with that, the ability of the Liberals to maintain widespread support after five years in power—coupled with the fallure of the four other largest parties to make significant inroads—is remarkable. A majority of respondents cite the Liberals as the party

they most identify with, while the Tories, under Clark, are second with only a third as much support. Even in Quebec, where the provincial Liberals reigned in the media and the Bloc Québécois holds a majority of the province's 75 House of Commons seats, the Liberals hold a healthy lead.

These figures should provide welcome comfort for the Prime Minister, who has received enough heat from the media over his performance on several issues. One obvious question about any role he may have played in directing security arrangements for the November, 1995, meeting of leaders of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation conference in Vancouver. There, student protesters were mistreated by the RCMP who used pepper spray on them. Another is the increasing sense that Chrétien is a liability in the early debate, a concern only enhanced when he appeared to slam the door on future constitutional change in an interview he gave to a Quebec newspaper during the province's election campaign.

While such anecdotes may have caused some doubts about Chrétien, they have been no significant dip in his overall popularity. On the positive side, he remains the lapdog of the most respondents when asked whom they would prefer as prime minister after a second half already says—less than 18 months into a second five-year term—that the 64-year-old Chrétien should run for a third term. But there are several reasons why he should give that notion second thoughts. Although he tops the list of preferred choices as prime minister, he holds that honor with the support of only 19 per cent of respondents. And a slim majority, 52 per cent, think he should retire before the end of his term.

In the meantime, the Liberals would do well to keep a wary eye on two near the perimeter of Clark, who took over the Conservatives for the second time in November, and ongoing efforts to bring the Tories and Reform together in the ultra-right movement. That effort is eagerly exposed by some Ontario provincial Tories, many Reformers and some members of the media—particularly the now *National Post*, which has made the project a sort of raison d'être, promoting extensive, favourable news coverage and editorials. And while the Tories and Reform 11 per cent on their own, 36 per cent of respondents say they would vote for a united party, which suggests that their range of potential voters could expand significantly in a union.

But negative indicators in the poll temper the good news for the ultra-right proponents. A new party based on such a merger, it appears, would gain some ground on the Liberals, but not nearly enough to defeat them. As for Manning, he ranks far behind Clark as the choice for leader among respondents who support a merger (over 50). In fact, Clark, who scarcely appears in the same breath with Reform, emerges in many ways as the leader who is making the best gains among respondents. His Tories rank six per cent-



ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

Taking blood in Montreal, new province to improve health care

A CRY FOR BETTER SERVICES

At the age of 72, Vera Taylor of Quispamsis, N.B.—a small community near Saint John—says she decided long ago that "hard work is a remedy to almost any problem." Twice widowed, Taylor has 11 children and 18 grandchildren—and still works as a community volunteer. Despite her self-reliance, she worries that cutbacks in such areas as health care, education and social services are eroding the quality of life and opportunities for her family. "It's so hard for kids starting out," says Taylor. "Government should be there where people need help. But you only hear from the politicians at election time."

Echoing those sentiments, 22 per cent of respondents to the Maclean's CBC year-end poll said the most important problem facing Canada is the need for better health care and other social services. As recently as five years ago, that concern did not register in polling for the most important problem. In 1990, it was cited by 11 per cent of respondents, then last year by 15 per cent. Now, it is the number 2 worry of Canadians, topped only by a declining concern about unemployment and the economy (at 28 per cent). The reason for the emerging reverse, says pollster Allan Gregg, "is simply a growing sense that the existing infrastructure is breaking down."

The public is getting that message across to politicians. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and the 10 premiers recently began discussing a social union aimed at giving the provinces more say in designing and managing such programs. And, the Prime Minister has said re-

peatedly, finding new money for health care is his government's next priority. Another likely measure in the federal budget in February will be \$155 million for a program to help train disadvantaged young people to find jobs. Taylor welcomes that prospect—with one caveat: "Before they spend that money on training and aids," she says firmly, "they better be sure there are some new jobs for them to go to."



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In 1993, the year the Liberals took office, **73%** cited unemployment, economy, deficit or government spending as their top concern. This year **42%** do the same.

No 'winning conditions'

The poll reflects uncertainty dogging the unity debate

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

Gerrard Simonsen seems just the sort of voter that federalists would count on in Quebec's never-ending constitutional wars. The 55-year-old Simonsen, who lives in the Eastern Townships municipality of Frelambert, ardently admired the late Liberal premier Robert Bourassa, praises Jean Charest's performance as leader of the federal Progressive Conservatives, and boasts that all three of his children are fluently bilingual—with two of them living in Alberta. "They just love it there," exults Simonsen, an unemployed cook who regrets never having learned to fly. Just one problem: Simonsen voted for the Parti Québécois in the Nov. 30 election, for the Bloc Québécois in the last two federal elections—and for the Yes side in the 1995 sovereignty referendum. Bel, Simonsen says, "I'm so sovereign, my door is certainly open to listen to the rest of Canada—if it is prepared to better accommodate Quebec."

Open—but how far and for how long? Once again, in this year's Quebec election and the *Maclean's*/CBC year-end poll by The Strategic Counsel indicates, Quebecers are keeping their options open on their political future. The survey was conducted more than a week before the Nov. 30 election, which ended with the PQ winning 70 seats, the Liberals 48 and the Parti action démocratique du Québec one. But in one of those anomalies of the electoral system, the Liberals actually drew the most votes—43.7 per cent compared with 42.2 per cent for the PQ and 11.8 per cent for the ADQ. And that split is consistent with the poll's findings," says Strategic Counsel chairman Alan Gossop. "Both indicate the extent to which Quebecers vote strategically to balance both sides against each other."

On the one hand, Quebec respondents say they prefer the federal Liberals over the Bloc Québécois by 51 to 40 per cent. And many Quebecers are satisfied (and dissatisfied with Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's performance—by 38 to 33 per cent. Still, 60 per cent of respondents in Quebec think Chrétien should resign rather than run for a third term, fewer than one in four think he is the best person to lead the federal side into another referendum—and 56 per cent think it likely that Quebec will separate within a half-century.

Those findings, like the election results themselves, reflect the uncertainty or the hangover over the unity debate, as both sides pause to



PS supporters in Quebec City on election night. Bouchard (left) came to cast votes

catch their breath. Contrasting the results, Premier Jacques Bouchard acknowledged that the "winning conditions" he wants before calling another referendum are not in place—and that he has no idea when, or if, one will take place. Meanwhile, the federal government was ready to implement its so-called Plan B—a headline response to the separatist upsurge—if the PQ had drawn enough support to encourage a quick referendum. But now everyone has more time to move on to other issues.

The poll figures also reflect a weary acknowledgement—reflected across the country—that Quebec secession is a preposterous, barely changing chip on the political roller coaster. Across Canada, 54 per cent of respondents think it unlikely that Quebec will become sovereign, 42 per cent consider it likely. The figures are about identical to responses in 1994, a year after a referendum that the federalist side won by less than a percentage point.

Perhaps the biggest change in the unity battle is a shift in opinion regarding who would best represent the federalist side in another referendum. In 1997, then-Liberal leader Jean Chrétien was the first

choice of half of decided respondents in Quebec, and 24 per cent elsewhere, while Gossop followed with the support of 25 per cent of respondents in Quebec, and 18 per cent elsewhere. At the time, another 15 per cent were undecided.

This year, Chrétien's support is almost identical in Quebec, at 34 per cent, but his falls 10 points in the rest of the country to the same figure. By contrast, Gossop, who reluctantly took over the Quebec Liberal leadership under heavy pressure last April, has become more popular on this issue in the rest of Canada—and less so in his home province. His backing among Quebecers drops 18 points to 34 per cent. Much of his support seems to have moved over to Joe Clark, his former Tory colleague and now the reborn federal party leader—preferred as a federalist leader in a referendum by 34 per cent of respondents both inside and outside Quebec.

Chrétien's loss of support reflects the shaky distinction many Quebecers make between politicians at the federal and provincial levels. When he was a federal leader, Quebecers took pride in that, and in his bilingual, bicultural qualities. But those qualities became drawbacks when he entered the

provincial arena. Chrétien was criticized intensely for being out of touch with provincial issues such as health care and education. There were even suggestions that, because of his ease in both official languages, he did not understand the logic underpinning Quebec's legislation protecting the French language. Squeamish, who lives in a riding next to the Liberal leader's, now has chance to take a closer look at Chrétien, who served as an MP in Ottawa for 14 years. "He spent too much time away," says Squeamish. "Next he can have four years learning about Quebec, and then we will see." On the constitutional front, added Simonsen, "We need some thinking from him. My impression is that he likes the status quo, and that is not good enough."

Apart from the unity issue, these Quebecers are ambivalent about aspects of their country and its government have more in common with other Canadians than they may realize. "This is a provincial and provincial well reflected in their provincial outlook at life," says Gossop. "What is lacking is any buy-in about the future." That concerns an topics ranging from pension payments to tax rates to the question of how to deal with the army base: rising requests across the country express doubts or dislike

Percentage of respondents saying the chances of Quebec leaving have increased since the 1995 referendum:

Quebec: **28%**
Rest of Canada: **21%**

In 1997
Quebec: **17%**
Rest of Canada: **16%**

Percentage expressing confidence in the federal government to lead the nation into the next referendum:

Quebec: **39%**
Rest of Canada: **60%**

First choice to lead the federal side in the case of another referendum:
Jean Chrétien

34% in both Quebec and the rest of Canada

Chrétien is second choice with **24%** in both Quebec and the rest of Canada

DISUNITED ALTERNATIVE

of the Liberals' handling of those issues. But that pans another Charlton personality, not the party he leads, the federalist, pro-Quebec, pro-Canada, and the other parties, and less than half see any point in the Tories and Reform joining in a united right movement.

Not surprisingly the highest levels of dissatisfaction are in regions that relate to the matter. By a margin of more than 3 to 1, respondents are upset about the amount of tax they pay. Quebecers, who have one of the highest tax rates in the country, are the most concerned, with 86 per cent expressing unhappiness. The dissatisfaction level is lowest, at 30 per cent, in the Prairie provinces—specifically Alberta, which has one of the country's lowest tax rates and no provincial sales tax. And there is a growing sense, particularly among younger Canadians, that they are paying for programs that they may never benefit from using. In particular, 44 per cent of respondents think they will eventually receive less of a federal social pension plan (or its Quebec equivalent) than they put in. Only 22 per cent expect to receive more.

But while all of that may cause annoyance, none of it amounts to the sort of anger that would cause voters to replace either the Liberals or the Prime Minister at the ballot box. In fact, the poll shows a wide lead for the preferred party of 51 per cent of respondents. Charlton actually names the choice of 10 per cent of voters for prime minister, with that figure highest in Ontario (at 24 per cent) and lowest in British Columbia (12 per cent). And even though that makes it his first choice of fewer than one in five voters, it still puts him far ahead of any competitor either within or outside his party. Finance Minister Paul Martin, Quebec Liberal Leader Jean Charest and Conservative Leader Joe Clark follow with roughly 10 per cent support. Alberta Premier Ralph Klein was at their best with only 5 per cent. "New Democratic Party leader Alexa McDonough (six per cent), and former New Brunswick premier Frank McKenna, New Brunswick Premier Brian Tobin and Reform Leader Preston Manning (all at five per cent).

Given those responses, why would Charlton want to change his slow-and-steady approach to such major issues as government spending and the only debate? He the voice of the Quebec election, the province's new language law campaign to have Ottawa hand down both the money and the responsibility for the country's network of social programs. One reason is to show Quebecers that federalism is flexible. But federalists strongly suggest that Charlton is preparing to show his own line in the sand. "We don't want to get to

the point," said one, "where Canadians feel that they get all their biggest problems from the provincial governments—and that all the federal government does is take money from them." Almost as clear a challenge as confidence in the words of Trudeau, who says, "Others want to take a lot of money from us—and I don't know that we get very much in return." To keep themselves in government—and the country they govern united—the Liberals must find ways to demonstrate to all Canadians that such a sentiment is not true. □

Those who look for support for the idea of uniting the right by joining the Tories and Reform will not find it in people like Archer—or among most respondents to the Maclean's/CBC poll. "The only conclusion you can draw," says pollster Alan Gregg, a onetime Tory strategist, "is that for the two sides to merge, Reform would have to disappear—and that's hardly likely." In a variety of ways, the figures bear out that assertion. Although Reform is now the official opposition, with 160 of the 301 House of Commons seats, it lags behind the Tories in popularity almost everywhere in the country. And leader Preston Manning, after nine years at the head of the party, is the third choice of respondents to lead a united right, after both Clark and Alberta Premier Ralph Klein.

From the outset, 54 per cent of all respondents do not even like the idea of a merged party. Even in Reform's stronghold in the Prairie provinces and British Columbia, less than half of respondents are in favour of it. And if it does happen, 58 per cent of respondents are unlikely to vote for such a party. And as for the best choice to lead it, 43 per cent said Clark—who has already said he will not attend a Reform-sponsored United Alternative meeting to be held in February. The second choice, Klein—who will attend the meeting—was cited by 22 per cent, and Manning by 14 per cent.

The problem confronting Reform and the Tories is exactly the one that has bedevilled them in the last two federal elections. Because support for the idea is spread, the Tories in broad distribution, they must strive to translate that into a significant number of seats. On the other hand, Reform virtually exists in exile outside the Prairies and British Columbia—so it appears to be near the ceiling of its support. As well, says Gregg, "The data show that those who would vote for Clark would partly much not support Manning under any circumstances, and vice-versa."

The other problem is that, although both parties are considered right-wing, their approach differs on many issues. The Tories' fiscal policies have arguably been stolen by the Liberals, and their approach to Quebec is much more moderate than Reform's. In fact, Manning recently has been sounding more conciliatory towards Quebec in an apparent attempt to win support in the East. But that is a risky approach, because it may alienate or confuse more traditional supporters. Consider Archer, who, when asked his opinion of Manning, took a long pause before saying, "I thought I knew what his party stands for, but he changes his mind so often for me to keep up." For Manning, who prides himself on always trying to put principles ahead of politics, that may be the unkindest cut of all.

ANTHONY WILKINSON SMITH

the point," said one, "where Canadians feel that they get all their biggest problems from the provincial governments—and that all the federal government does is take money from them." Almost as clear a challenge as confidence in the words of Trudeau, who says, "Others want to take a lot of money from us—and I don't know that we get very much in return." To keep themselves in government—and the country they govern united—the Liberals must find ways to demonstrate to all Canadians that such a sentiment is not true. □

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Percentage of respondents saying it is likely Quebec will be a separate country within the next 50 years: Quebec 56 Rest of Canada 38

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High-end shoppers in Calgary;
business in Toronto (left):
I just hope for the best

THE TEMPTATION TO LEAVE CANADA

Back in 1993, Maclean's asked Canadians to name the province in which, given the option, they would most like to live. The winner: British Columbia. Not only that, but British Columbians were significantly more likely than other Canadians to vote for their own province as the most desirable place in Canada to live.

Just because they love their province, however, doesn't mean B.C. residents are immune to the siren song of opportunities beyond Canada's borders. This year's poll asks respondents if they believe their economic prospects would be brighter in another country. Twenty-two per cent of British Columbians say yes, the highest proportion in any province. Quebecers are close behind at 20 per cent, followed by residents of Ontario (18 per cent), the Prairies (11 per cent) and Atlantic Canada (nine per cent). If British Columbians do pull up stakes, there are probably plenty of other Canadians willing to move west to take their place.

To have and have not

MACLEAN'S ASKS POLL: ECONOMY

BY ROSS LAVER

It was the year the Asian financial crisis spilled over into North America, the losses skidded to an all-time low and stock indexes around the world dropped sharply, raising fears of a global recession. A little pessimism would hardly seem out of place among Canadians in 1998, drawn to a close. Yet respondents to the Maclean's/CIBC poll seem to be shrugging off the bad economic news. "It's only a girl locking, but things seem to be picking up in other countries and she should help us," says Michael McKinnon, 31, a financial consultant in Quebec. B.C. David LeBlanc, a Cape Breton coal miner who spent most of the year laid off but was called back to work in November, is similarly hopeful. "What with the deficit gone, I think the country's moving in the right direction," he says. "So I just hope for the best."

In the decade and a half since Maclean's launched its annual year-end poll, the findings have tended to understate Canadians' readiness to view the economic glass as half full rather than half empty. That theme shows clearly in this year's results. On a personal level, 67 per cent of respondents say the financial situation has stayed the same or improved over the past decade. Even more striking, only 17 per cent say they believe their economic future would be brighter if they lived in another country.

The picture appears cloudier when it comes to the outlook for the Canadian economy. Twenty-four per cent expect a modest improve-

ment in the near future, and a small cohort of super-optimists—three per cent of all respondents—believes the economy is poised to become significantly stronger. In contrast, 43 per cent say they expect either a mild or a severe recession.

Yet the figures don't seem as grim as when compared with previous years' responses. Twice before, the year-end poll asked respondents to predict the economy's future course. In 1988, 58 per cent were bracing for a recession, two years later, an overwhelming 90 per cent believed that economic conditions were going to get worse. (The economy did, in fact, go into recession in the spring of 1990, but by early 1992 a recovery was under way.) Viewed in that context, this year's results actually contain a fair degree of optimism. "There's certainly less pessimism than in the past," says pollster Allan Gregg, chairman of The Strategic Counsel. Over the years, he adds, "We have seen a consensus [among] who believe that on a personal level they are better off. But for the economy as a whole, there's this hangover effect that goes right back to the recession of the early 1980s, when for the first time Canadians were really traumatized by the notion that maybe things aren't always going to get better."

In only one region of the country, economically battered British Columbia, is there a clear majority who expect the economy to get worse. Fifty-six per cent of B.C. respondents are anticipating a mild recession, while another 17 per cent say they believe a severe recession is imminent. In total, almost three out of four B.C. residents ex-

pect the economy to deteriorate, compared with the 43 per cent nationally.

That pessimism is easy to understand. British Columbia, where the dominant resource sector is heavily dependent on exports to the Far East, has suffered far more than any other region as a result of the collapse of Asian markets and low commodity prices. According to the latest estimates from the Conference Board of Canada, the B.C. economy shrank by 0.8 per cent in 1998 and will likely expand only marginally in 1999. "The business mood at the moment is exceptionally gloom," says David Board, a professor of finance at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. In Board's view, the province's interventionist New Democratic Party government is as much to blame for the economic malaise as the Asian downturn. "There is very little unemployment falling place in British Columbia right now. It isn't a happy place to be."

East of British Columbia, the mood appears to be one of cautious optimism—a feeling that things are likely to stay the same or perhaps improve slightly. Newfoundlanders (34 per cent) are most inclined to expect stronger growth, followed by Albertans (32 per cent) and residents of both Ontario and Quebec (29 per cent).

Almost as stark as those regional differences is the contrast between the expectations of men and women. Nationally, 30 per cent of female respondents, as opposed with 37 per cent of males, believe the economy is heading into a mild or severe recession. According to Gregg, those findings reflect women's unease about the general direction of society. "We're seeing a growing level of concern about social issues and a

growing demand for more activist government," he says, "and both of those trends are led by women." Surprisingly, there is little regional variation when respondents are asked if the Asian economic turmoil has affected them personally. Nationally, six in 10 of those interviewed say the crisis has had "at least some of an impact" or more at all. And in spite of the fact that the Asian turmoil was the main cause of last summer's steep decline in the value of the Canadian dollar and the continued weakness in Canadian share prices, only eight per cent describe the impact on them as "very significant."

Significantly more likely than other Canadians to say they have been affected by Asia's financial troubles are university graduates and financial deals with household incomes over \$60,000. The same groups are less inclined than others to agree with the statement: "Things will worsen for the global economy, and we are heading for more difficult times." Overall, 36 per cent of respondents endorse that view, while a mere eight per cent subscribe to the opposite opinion—that the turmoil is largely over and the global economy will grow. The largest group—a slim majority of 33 per cent—opts for the middle-of-the-road position, that the worst is probably over but things will not improve much for a while.

Beyond those broader economic issues, the poll explores the views of respondents on a series of questions about government spending, social programs and taxation. The results reveal something of a contradiction: although many Canadians are unhappy about the amount

Which way is the economy heading?

Improvement **27%**
Recession **43%**

Percentage saying the government can do nothing to affect the gap between the rich and poor because "the rich deserve to be rich and the poor deserve to be poor":

Women **21**
Men **27**

of taxes they pay, they are inclined to favour increased government spending as long as it benefits the needy.

For example, poll participants were asked how the federal and provincial governments should respond if the economy stops growing and Canada enters a recession. Thirty-seven per cent would support higher government spending to create jobs, while 35 per cent would approve of increased cutbacks on social programs and retrenching schemes to assist the unemployed. Only 22 per cent agree with the statement that

"the government can't make any deliberate attempt to address the problem of just let market forces take their course." Support for the laissez-faire approach shrank as the Primes (26 per cent), among those with household incomes over \$80,000 (30 per cent), and among supporters of the Reform Party (32 per cent). Most are at least twice as likely to vote to oppose increased spending—29 per cent to 35 per cent.

A high degree of concern for society's less fortunate is also reflected in the answers to another question. Fully 71 per cent of those polled say the gap between the rich and the poor in Canada is increasing. Only five per cent think it is shrinking, while 21 per cent detect no significant change. The results are fairly consistent across all regions and demographic groups, although the youngest respondents, aged 18 to 24, and those with household incomes under \$20,000—a group that includes many students and young people—are less inclined than older or more affluent Canadians to say the rich and poor are growing further apart. "It just seems to me it's always been that way, and there's not really a lot that can be done about it," says Maedy Blanes, 29, a student at Humber College in Toronto.

Poll participants were also asked what, if anything, should be done about the gap between the haves and have-nots. Half believe the government should intervene more actively in the economy, while 24 per cent firmly reject that notion, agreeing with the statement that "the rich deserve to be rich and the poor deserve to be poor" and nothing the government does will ever change that.

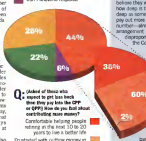
Partly reflecting the widespread sympathy for the less well-off is an overwhelming belief that the gap between the rich and the poor in Canada is too large. A total of 77 per cent are "somewhat" or "very" upset about the issue they pay only eight per cent say they are not upset. The results are fairly consistent across regions and demographic groups, although Prairie residents are disproportionately less likely than other Canadians to say they are very upset, and Quebecers more likely. Paradoxically, Quebecers are also more inclined than others to favour government intervention to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor.

Based on these responses, it's tempting to conclude that Canadians are clamouring for tax cuts. But the poll suggests otherwise.

DEGREES OF FRUSTRATION

Q. Do you expect to get more or less back from the Canada (or Quebec) Pension Plan than you paid in?

- Expected to get more back than paid in
- Expected to get about the same back
- Expected to get less back than paid in
- Don't know/no response



Q. (Asked of those who expect to get less back than they pay into the CPP or QPP) How do you feel about contributing more money?

- Comfortable helping people retiring in the next 10 to 20 years to live a better life
- Frustrated with putting money in that they will get no value from
- Don't know/no response



SUPPORTING THE OLD

Judging by this year's Maclean's CBC poll, Canadian taxpayers are unlikely to rise up in mass revolt anytime soon. By the same token, Ottawa does not appear to be encountering much of a backlash over its efforts that began in 1995 to overhaul the Canada Pension Plan. The government's objective is to ensure the plan's financial viability by taking the premiums paid by today's workers and investing some of that money in a special fund earmarked to assist future retirees. The downside: many of today's workers, particularly those under age 30, may end up paying more into the fund than they can ever hope to collect in benefits.

The final tally of what any individual contributes and collect will depend not only on their age and income levels now, but ultimately the length of their retirement and a variety of other factors. Still, 44 per cent of respondents in this year's poll say they expect to receive less back from the CPP (or its Quebec equivalent) than they will pay in. Twenty-eight per cent expect to break even, while 22 per cent believe they will come out ahead by collecting more in benefits than they will have put in.

Younger people are significantly more inclined to believe they will receive less than they contribute. But how deep is their discontent? Perhaps not quite as deep as some might expect. Of those who expect to pay out more than they collect, a surprisingly large number—almost four in 10—are comfortable with that arrangement. The six in 10 who do find it unfair are disproportionately young people and supporters of the Conservative and Reform parties.

The bottom line? Roughly two out of three respondents either believe they will not be hurt by the pension plan reforms, or—even if they might be hurt—do not mind paying extra to provide for tomorrow's seniors. "There are already a lot of elderly people struggling to get by," says Cindy Liewicki, 39, a self-employed tax preparer and tax collector in Cornwall, Ont., "and from everything I've heard it's going to get worse. If everybody puts in more money now, maybe the plan will still be around when people like my husband and I are at retirement age."

ROSS LIVER

Asked how the federal government should spend this year's budgetary surplus, the respondents rate tax cuts as the lowest of three priorities. The more popular options are to pay down the national debt and to increase spending on social programs, from total to less towards the former, while reasons favour the latter. Moreover, those who do object to the level of taxation are more likely to identify the GST and sales taxes generally as the most onerous forms of taxation, followed by personal income taxes and, in third place, property and municipal taxes.

The issue for Ottawa? Finance Minister Paul Martin, who has spent much of the past year finding oil opposition demands for across-the-board tax cuts, appears to have caught the country's mood with uneasy accuracy. Caught between Blair's mantra for the less fortunate and their belief that money is not out of control, Canadians seem undecided on what action, if any, Ottawa should take. □

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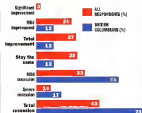
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With an eye on the wallet

The year-end poll explores expectations for the economy, the temptation to move out of Canada, frustration over taxes and attitudes towards government spending in a recession.

WEST COAST BLUES

Q: Would you say the economy is heading into a period of improvement or recession, or is it going to stay the same?



MALE OPTIMISM

Percentage of respondents saying the economy is heading into a recession:



GREENER GRASS

Percentage of respondents who think their economic future would be brighter if they lived in another country:



TAXING MATTERS

Q: How upset do you feel about the amount of tax you pay?

Percentage of respondents	ON	BC	MB	SK	AB	QC	NS	PE	NT	YT
Very upset	33	27	27	26	26	26	26	26	26	26
Somewhat upset	46	51	43	43	41	41	41	41	41	41
TOTAL UPSET	77	78	70	74	68	67	67	67	67	67
Not very upset	13	14	20	17	8	14	14	14	14	14
Not upset at all	8	6	10	9	5	8	8	8	8	8
TOTAL NOT UPSET	23	22	30	26	13	22	22	22	22	22

Q: Which tax do you get most upset about?

- Income tax
- GST/HST sales taxes
- Property/municipal taxes
- No response



THAT NURTURING INSTINCT?

Q: How should the federal and provincial governments respond if we stop growing and find ourselves in a recession?

Percentage of respondents



Percentage of respondents who think the government should intervene to narrow the gap between rich and poor.



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HONDA

Most likely to be aware of the Y2K problem: university graduates (96%)
Least likely: respondents over 65 (71%)

Percentage planning to take measures to cope with potential Year 2000 problems:

- Avoid flying on Jan. 1, 2000: 37
- Withdraw more money than usual before Jan. 1, 2000: 30
- Seek sources of energy not dependent on computers: 25
- Buy more food than usual before Jan. 1, 2000: 20
- None of the above: 38



Roni, a CBC computer centre planning to break out the champagne

The dreaded Y2K

A cautious few prepare for disaster

BY D'ARCY JENISH

John Burns is celebrating New Year's Eve by taking his wife, Andrea, to the lounge on the rooftop of the Levee in Toronto. But he has already told his wife he won't be around next year in July, her welcome to the year 2000. He'll be in the office. Burns, a vice-president of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, is in charge of the bank's so-called Y2K (for Year 2000) task force set up in April 1995, to deal with the ability of some older computer software programs to read dates beyond Dec. 31, 1999. The problem, if uncorrected, could force the bank to handle all transactions on paper—and even prevent customers from making deposits or withdrawals. The CBC task force, which peaked at 1,000 employees in October, has spent almost \$200 million reworking software, and Burns expects the work to be completed early in the new year. Nevertheless, he and a few fellow workers will be on duty, watching for computer glitches, as the 1990s come to an end. "I hope I'm sitting there here to toast," he says. "I think so perfectly, we'll be breaking out the champagne."

Even of Y2K, the international acronym for the so-called millennium bug, has spawned many disaster scenarios. Some doom-mongers predict the failure of hundreds of vital, computer-dependent enterprises around the world, including airlines and power stations as well as hospitals, potentially crippling national economies. And their talk has clearly had an impact on Canadians. According to the *Maclean's/CBC News poll*, 84 per cent of the public is aware of the year 2000 problem, and 71 per cent believe it will cause computers to malfunction or fail. Furthermore, a significant portion of poll participants say they will be taking special precautions—stocking up on food, or reaching for an alternative energy source, with drawing extra money from the bank or speeding an errand around the turn of the new year. "I don't think there is going to be a meltdown," says Dorothy Young, 53, who runs an Ottawa-based high-tech consulting firm with her husband, Andrew. "But I think there are going to be substantial problems. And I wouldn't be flying to India or Africa over the new year."

Poll participants are more cautious about air travel than other potential problems. Thirty-seven

per cent say they will not fly on Jan. 1, 2000. By comparison, 30 per cent say they will withdraw extra money before the year's end and 24 per cent of women say they will stock up on food. On every issue, women are more cautious than men. One-quarter of the female participants, compared with 15 per cent of men, say they will stock up on food. And 40 per cent will avoid flying, compared with 24 per cent of men.

Responses also varied along geographical lines. With respect to flying, Prairie residents were most concerned, and Quebecers the least. As for stocking food, 34 per cent of the Prairie respondents, but only nine per cent of Quebecers, say they will. On withdrawing extra money, the range is 37 per cent to 20 per cent, respectively, that the gap narrows—is 27 per cent versus 24 per cent—when it comes to seeking alternative energy sources, an indication that Prairie dwellers and Quebecers alike—particularly after January's ice storms—take their winters seriously. "You most concerned about the power being shut down," said Denise Telford, 36, an agricultural engineer in Humboldt, Sask., 130 km east of Saskatoon. "I wouldn't think much of sitting around for a few hours or a few days without power if it's -45° outside."

Building in an isolated community has prompted Tim Bourne, 35, and her 35-year-old husband, David, to prepare for worst-case scenarios. The couple has with their three-year-old, Ty, in Powell River, B.C., a community of about 20,000 some 125 km and two ferry rides northwest of Vancouver. Bourne, a part-time educational assistant who works with special needs children, is buying a few extra canned goods each week. She and her husband have bought a few lamps, and are planning to buy a wood stove. "We need to be able to cook and stay warm if the power goes out," she says. "We're taking whatever steps we can to be ready."

Other poll participants are less concerned about the potential Y2K problem. Sarah Townsend, a 19-year-old planning student at the College of Geographical Sciences in Lawrenceville, N.B., 125 km west of Halifax, believes the issue has been overblown. "I find it difficult to accept that computers will crash and leave us with no power, no lights and no food," she says. Another respondent, John Smith, 52, of Mount Pearl, Nfld., agrees to St. John's, says the banks could be scrambling for cash if customers who normally shop with credit and debit cards suddenly make large withdrawals. "Everything is done on plastic these days," says Wells, who manages the post department of a local building supply store. "It could be a real hassle for the banks if they suddenly suddenly need cash."

For many Canadians, including those poll participants, Y2K has become a fact of life in the workplace. Bobbie Shepp, 41, works in a registered nurse in the intensive care unit of a Calgary hospital, where computers regulate much of the life-support equipment, including respirators, various monitoring devices and some intravenous drip machines. Every part of the hospital has set up committees to develop Y2K contingency plans. Shepp is part of her unit's in the case of a computer-related power failure, her department will, among other things, double the number of nurses on duty and operate many machines manually. As planning continues, Shepp says she is confident that patients will receive the care they require. Over the next 12 months, questions will inevitably arise about who

has solved their Y2K problems, and who has not. In fact, Industry Canada has already conducted two large surveys to determine the state of private sector preparedness. One done in October, 1997, revealed that 45 per cent of Canadian companies had taken some action, according to Douglas Dwyer, head of communications for Industry Canada's Year 2000 task force. By May, that number had risen to almost 70 per cent. The industry department attempted to boost awareness of the problem by making out three million brochures on the subject in September, and it has set up several programs to assist companies. Yet, early in December, Auditor General Denis Desautels reported that several federal departments may not have their Y2K problems solved in time, including those responsible for food inspections, commercial border crossings, Canada Pension Plan cheques and old age security payments.

Within the private sector, small to medium-sized companies are most likely to be unprepared, according to David Marshall, director of software research with the Toronto-based consulting and marketing firm IDC Canada. He estimates that up to 90 per cent of smaller firms may be totally unprepared at this point. Many simply cannot afford to hire the outside consultants required to fix the problem, which could shut down their accounting systems as well as their cash registers. Marshall believes that governments at all levels will be hard pressed to overhaul their software programs by the end of 1999 because the Y2K problem has led to a serious shortage of information technology professionals. "Government pay scales are lower than industry standards," he said, "and they're losing people faster than they can replace them."

By comparison, senior executives with most major private sector organizations—financial institutions, telephone companies and airlines, for example—most of them will have the problem solved by early 1999. Scott McLean, vice-president of operations with the Canadian Bankers' Association, says the chartered banks had all begun tackling the issue by mid 1995 and have so far spent close to \$1 billion on it. Raymond Thutmon, Year 2000 vice-president with the Royal Bank, says he had more than 30 people working the problem at one point, describes it as "the largest single undertaking" in the institution's history.

Recent statistics of Canada's commercial aviation industry are equally confident: that their business will be operating normally on New Year's Day, 2000, like Berlusconi's Y2K project manager with Calgary-based Canadian Airlines International, said most modern aircraft contain some date-sensitive equipment, such as navigational aids, that would be problematic. Canadian Airlines, which has had more than 800,000, he says, to modify or replace programs and computer chips required to run aboard equipment, as well as those that operate the reservation system, under boarding passes and allocate seats on each flight.

The country's air traffic control system, now operated by the Ottawa-based company Nav Canada, also had to be overhauled to ensure that plans could continue on Jan. Y2K project manager David Hockman and that seven air controllers, located from Vancouver to Guelph, Nfld., took part of several between island and landing. Each centre controls 400 or more aircraft systems, including navigational aids, communications equipment and radar processing devices. Nav Canada's team of technicians has checked 1.5 million lines of computer code, and made the necessary program changes. Hockman has so much confidence in the work that he has been close that he says he will catch an early evening flight from Toronto to London on Dec. 31, 1999. That will put him somewhere near the Atlantic as the stroke of midnight is approaching in his confidence that "Y2K is the greatest non-event in history." □

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Sex, lies and destiny

People are less tolerant of perjury than adultery

BY ANDREW CLARK

When Pierre Trudeau declared in Canada's justice minister three decades ago that the "bible has no place in the bedrooms of the nation," it was a controversial stand. Now, it is accepted wisdom, although it has a modern twist—today, it seems, the nation has no place in the bedrooms of the state's leaders. In the *Maclean's*/CBC poll, Canadians say a person's private life, whatever its social desirability, should not be fuel for public consumption. An overwhelming 96 per cent of respondents say that people, no matter how famous, have a right to privacy. Only eight per cent feel that the public is entitled to know all it wishes about celebrities and public figures. "What they do, that's people's own private business," says respondent Roger Bennett, 36, an industrial technician in St. Catharines, Ont. "I don't want to pry into their business and I don't want them to pry into mine."

When it comes to the ethics of private life, Canadians value anonymity. Eighty-nine per cent of respondents say it is unacceptable to have an extramarital affair (including 72 per cent who considered "very unacceptable"). Only nine per cent say it is OK to cheat. British Columbians oppose adultery most strongly—only four per cent approve of adultery. Quebec shows the highest tolerance, with 17 per cent deeming affairs acceptable. Intriguingly, tolerance of adultery increases with education, with the rate among university graduates reaching 23 per cent.

While prostitution remains a thorn in Canadian citizens' desire many civic leaders' efforts, sex for hire is another taboo among poll respondents. Just as with adultery, 68 per cent of Canadians say they find paying for sex unacceptable (including 53 per cent of women and 64 per cent of men). Expressed another way, 16 per cent of men, compared to six per cent of women, consider prostitution acceptable.

Respondents have distinctly different tolerance levels for politicians caught in compromising sexual circumstances as opposed to those who tell lies. Asked if a politician who is discovered having an affair should resign, 63 per cent say no. A smaller majority—54 per cent—say paying for sex is not reason for a politician to leave office. But lying under oath? Eighty-five per cent of respondents disapprove of the practice, and 80 per cent consider it grounds for a politician's removal. It is the kind of sentiment that had President Bill Clinton's lawyers scrambling to avoid using the word "liar" during the hostile grilling by his political opponents.

The numbers point to an interesting ethical quandary that



Clinton and Lewinsky (left): saying an affair is OK grounds to leave office

measures Clinton's lies against his sexual indiscretions. "The Clinton situation was almost a 'hooray' talk show for high school seniors," says Winnipeg's Rabbi Allan Green. "Lying is a premeditated act. In a way, that's more serious for a politician than to have an affair because if they lie under oath they can't be trusted in any arena." In the Jewish faith, says Green, mistakes are a given. "Repentance is taking advantage of the opportunity that a mistake offers," he says. "Clinton missed his opportunity to be great; in the way that David, who immediately repented after killing a man, was great. He will be judged for the time that it took for him to admit what he did."

Canadians not only consider adultery irrelevant to job performance, they do not believe sex lives are grounds for removing people's moral fire. Seventy-nine per cent of respondents say people's activities and whether they have affairs is not reason for anyone being fired. These sentiments bled into 24 per cent who saw saying respondents most likely to feel this way. University of Toronto philosophy professor Joseph Heath maintains that Canada's political system is a reflection of the country's respect for privacy. He says the American system of political checks and balances breeds public partisan politics in Canada, the parliamentary model, with its powerful cabinet, allows for more deliberation and sensitive dealings. "The president is essentially an elected monarch," says Heath. "The only way to get rid of him is by impeachment. In Canada, the party can lose after it's the back room. A few of the party's power 64 can get together and push an unpopular leader out."

Interestingly, Canadians' respect for public figures' privacy

comes hand in hand with high moral expectations of political leaders. Fully 73 per cent—including 81 per cent of Reform party supporters but just 61 per cent of 18 to 24-year-olds—expect politicians to "set an example of a lifestyle we should all believe." The responses come as Canadians are reassessing the differences between public and private life, says Mark Weiler, professor of applied ethics in the faculty of business administration at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C. "People now believe that a person can be a morally competent politician and still have a mistress or a lover," says Weiler. "But if a politician lives while working, then we have a case that is impacting competence."

Weiler cites the November memorial service for Trudeau's youngest son, Michael, as a clear example of the Canadian reverence for privacy. In the United States, a similar event in Kennedy lore, for example, would see a harem's nest of media intrusions—camera-laden helicopters flying over the church, reporters accusing mourners as they left the chapel. In Canada, notes Weiler, the media are much more likely to respect a withdrawal, if somewhat chaste, banner. In the case of the Trudeau service, he observes, the media went as far as the church doors but no farther. In most cases, they photographed the mourners in a public arena rather than invading cordoned areas of the family. "In the United States," he says, "if you are a public person, you are a public commodity. In Canada, your work is the public commodity, your life is your own."

Canadians willingness to accept flaws in their politicians' private lives is matched by a belief in the importance of tolerance. An enormous majority (91 per cent) of those polled say that it is important to "accept others' rights to different lifestyles." Eighty-three per cent believe that no one has the right to impose their morality on others. Sixty-six per cent say they practice a live-and-let-live approach towards others, with the young (18 to 24 years old) and NDP supporters most likely to express that attitude.

On the other hand, almost a third (34 per cent) of Canadians polled believe it is proper to judge others according to one's own moral code. This school of thought boasts strongest roots in the West. Alberta residents (at 44 per cent) and Reform supporters (43 per cent) are most likely to subscribe to it. Reformers are also least likely to say it is important to accept different lifestyles (at 70 per cent, 12 percentage points below the national average) and that it is wrong to impose morality on others (18 points below average at 73 per cent). "They have a right to be homosexual," says Michael Wong, a 64-year-old Muslim, Ala., resident who says his generally noisy NDP "But they have to show others in how the right to disassociate from it. As long as it doesn't affect me, fine, but don't ask me to approve of it."

All of which prompts the question: to whom are Canadians looking for moral leadership? The roles of media and politicians have diminished as recent decades' scandals indicate a moral ambiguity in the rise of the live-and-let-live philosophy. "I sense a kind of indifference," says Anglican Archbishop Arthur G. Peters of Halifax. "Our culture is essentially liberal in outlook and approach. But the human community is built on an intricate network of relationships." Canadian society, he says, has a lot of problems that need to be addressed, including racial issues, violence against women and hunger. "As a society," adds Peters, "we need to be more sensitive." Canadians would generally agree with that sentiment. But also, it seems, with the notion that no one has the right to force any such moral concept on others. □

Agreeing it is very important to accept others' rights to different lifestyles: **91%**
Among 18- to 24-year-olds: **98%** Among Reform party supporters: **79%**

Considering it acceptable to lie under oath: **Men 6% Women 2%**
Considering it acceptable to have an extramarital affair: **Men 10% Women 9%**

From a Star Trek Actor
of 'gay' who believes
aliens visit Earth



The poll's vision
of the next half-
century is mostly
a sunny one

Millennial hopes and fears

BY PATRICIA CHESSOLM

It is a little hard to believe now, but when 2007, *A Space Odyssey* hit movie screens in 1968, the notion of everyday space travel—or even of living in a weird, world-seeming vaguely futuristic, commercial flights to the moon? Computers with personality problems? Life on Jupiter? Crazy. But with the new millennium just around the corner, Stanley Kubrick's classic film exploring the possibility of contact with intelligent extraterrestrial life does not seem particularly outlandish. Computers run our lives, flights by NASA's space shuttle have become routine, and in recent years astronomers have uncovered evidence that points to the possibility of life at some time on Mars and one of Jupiter's moons. Perhaps it is not surprising that 43 per cent of Canadians think it is likely that—among other revolutionary develop-

ments—humans will discover another civilization in space within the next 50 years. "With everything that's been happening, anything's possible," says Ellen Lavigne, 64, who lives in Montreal. "There could be someone up there."

Of course, there is some chance that reality will be far different: the aliens may not show, computers could malfunction at the dawn of the year 2000, and space programs may fall victim to falling national budgets. In fact, only 23 per cent of respondents to the Magnet/68C poll believe that 2000 will usher in a new beginning for the world. They and the others can still dream, though, and if humans Canadian say during their spare time it comes to visions of the next half-century. And mostly they are looking on the sunny side. No less than 80 per cent of respondents think a cure for cancer will be found within 50 years. Two-thirds expect medical science to extend average life spans beyond 100 years. And after a century

filled with wars, hot and cold, less than half—44 per cent—expect another world conflict in that time. If so, when it comes to widespread closing of human beings—a possibility that many people find deeply disturbing—only 26 per cent expect that to happen.

Why the optimistic outlook, particularly in a culture constantly bombarded with bad news? "People are tired of the army and politicians of the 1980s and 1990s," says Chris Dewdney, an author and professor of cultural studies at York University. "It's not a disturbing down, but an urge to look forward. The millennium reassures that we can wash our hands of a really horrible century."

At first glance, a positive outlook may seem ill conceived, at least when it comes to finding aliens. But according to Jayne Matthews, an astrochemist at the University of British Columbia, skeptics should remember that the systematic, scientific hunt for life signals—popularized by the late U.S. astronomer Carl Sagan and the 1987 film *Contact*—is only about 50 years old. "It's very unlikely we would be visited," Matthews notes, "but most astronomers think that life is fairly common in the universe, and, hopefully that includes intelligent life."

No doubt the successful TV shows and films about space travel and aliens—*Star Trek*, *E.T.* and *Star Wars* are the most familiar—have seeped into the popular imagination, Matthews says. But it is also true that television and TV signals have been travelling outward from the planet only since the 1940s. "Thirty light years from here, if there are any alien civilizations with radio telescopes they might be picking up the first episode of *Gilligan's Island*," Matthews says, adding wryly, "which might explain why we haven't been visited."

What if aliens do show up? Among those who expect other civilizations to be discovered, a significant number—17 per cent, including 23 per cent in British Columbia—believe the aliens will visit since the 1940s. "Thirty light years from here, if there are any alien civilizations with radio telescopes they might be picking up the first episode of *Gilligan's Island*," Matthews says, adding wryly, "which might explain why we haven't been visited."

If the poll responses are any guide, a healthier and longer-lived

population will be afflicted within the next 50 years by wind, sometimes terrible weather. Thirty-three per cent of respondents think that global warming—higher average temperatures and more extreme weather—will be caused by the accumulation of outside gases in the atmosphere—will make more of the world uninhabitable. Powerful evidence supports that view. The world has experienced devastating hurricanes and droughts in recent years, while Canada has had its share of freakish events. Landslides and flooding in Quebec's Saguenay region in 1996, Manitoba's Red River flood last year, and January's debilitating ice storm in Quebec and eastern Ontario.

David Phillips, a scientist climatologist for Toronto-based Environment Canada, says the vast majority of experts in his field believe global warming has already arrived. Another piece of evidence showed up last spring. Phillips said when the warm weather started weeks early in Canada and just kept going. "I can't express how amazed this is," says Phillips. "It's over whelmed, and I'm a climatologist, so it takes a lot to shake my head. We've smashed previous records in every manner. I'm still numb with what's happened in Canada over the last 12 months."

Health, of course, sits near the top of most personal agendas. And even though heart disease and stroke claim more lives, cancers—with their mysterious causes and unpredictable courses—seem

to be the most frightening afflictions. There are several bright spots on the horizon, including more 1996 by early detection and the promise of gene therapy. *Wingspan* Don Green is part of the majority anticipating a cure. Green, 71, was treated for colon cancer in 1995 and says he now feels well. "We've made such great progress in the last 10 to 15 years," the retired telephone company worker says. "I think we are going to make it in the next 50."

Among the 42 per cent who expect civilizations to be discovered in space in the next 50 years, 17 per cent think they will look like humans

Despite such optimism, it is highly unlikely that a cure for all cancers is just around the corner, according to Robert Buckman, a Toronto oncologist and author of the 1996 book *What The Aids Virus Is Really About: Cancer*. There are more than 100 different cancers, Buckman says, with as many different treatments and likely outcomes. Right now, the best hope remains with prevention, he says, such as not smoking, eating a healthy diet and having regular breast exams, such as Pap smears and mammograms. Still, he says, "People are much more frightened of the word 'cancer' than they should be." Within the next 50 years there are likely to be major advances that can better distinguish at-risk individuals and gene-related treatments, he adds.

It is in such areas of inquiry—science, incremental gains against old problems—that progress most likely lies. World's Development, for one, believes that society is at a critical transition point. Human beings are on the brink, he believes, of transcending themselves: revolutions like biotechnology and artificial intelligence will greatly extend life spans and ultimately lead to the creation of what amounts to a new species. Moral values, among other aspects of present-day life, will change fundamentally. Diversity will be valued more, and equality means what it will be like. "The year 2000 may be just another year on the calendar for most Canadians, but it could happen to coincide with a truly new beginning."

Expecting global warming to make more parts of the world uninhabitable: Men 56%, Women 68%. Expecting another world war: Men 39%, Women 50%.

Thinking the coming millennium marks a new beginning that will change people's behaviour: 22%. Saying it is a year just like any other: 38%.



Young love
messy with the
dread of teen
permissiveness

Sex and the single teen

BY CELIA MILNE

Sex—what a contradiction. It's naughty and it's nice. Naughty and good for the health. It's intimate and private but, practiced discreetly or carefully, has the power to ruin families, topple careers and cause deadly disease. We are fascinated—sometimes horrified—by sex in its various contexts. Who is doing it? With whom? Where? How? "Gee, it's how kids tend to react when they first hear about contraception. It's kind to imagine your parents doing it. And when that does become teenagers, it is the parents' turn to be uneasy." This year's Maclean's/CBC poll finds considerable discord with the notion of allowing 15-year-olds to have sex at home—particularly homosexual sex.

The poll's sex questions also show:

- Newfoundlanders, as usual, bragging biggest rights for the highest level of sexual activity (page 58)
- High levels of sexual satisfaction, particularly among women.
- Canadians are soft over what advice to give a pregnant, untackled teenager with the biggest number suggesting she keep the child as a single mother and
- Seven out of 10 respondents convinced that attitudes towards sexual matters are becoming more permissive.

As for teenagers becoming around in the home, respondents do not discriminate between sons with girlfriends or daughters with boyfriends—almost 70 per cent say either should be allowed to do it under their parents' roof. "It's easy to try to be opinionated," says

Dorell Lawrence, 46, a salesman in Woodstock, N.B., "but I don't think it would be anything that I could allow." When Lawrence's sons, now 25 and 23, and married, raised their parents' house with a girlfriend, the parents couple would be allowed separate rooms. Rick on Chapman, a 21-year-old University of Waterloo student, agrees that 15-year-olds should not be allowed to have sex in their parents' home. "I've never allowed it," she says. "Then anything goes. Would you also allow them to smoke pot and eat drunk?"

Quebecers are the most likely to let teenagers in steady relation sleep together, with 57 per cent finding that way for heterosexual sons and daughters (compared with 46 and 18 per cent, respectively, in the rest of Canada). Chantelle Charbonneau, 56, a mother of five adult children in St. Asenais, Que., says that when her 21-year-old daughter visits with her fiance, they sleep together. "I have to say yes," she says. "It would be a huge issue if I said no."

At the other end of the scale, just 18 per cent of Atlantic Canadians would allow it for a son. 12 per cent for a daughter. Rosemarie Cook, a teacher in St. John's, N.S., is one of that rare breed. She has three daughters and a son all in their 20s. "All four have had sex at the home," she says. "I made sure they were protected. I talk to my kids about sex, about anything." Conley is proud that her children have not had sex-related problems. "I have friends who wouldn't let their kids out on dates," she says, "and they have ended up with girlfriends/burns out of wedlock."

Generally, the older Canadians get, the less likely they are to allow teenagers sex in the home. Forty-five per cent of respondents aged 10 to 39 would say yes for a heterosexual son, but approval drops to 19

per cent among those 50 and over. "At 38 they are old enough to know what they are doing," says Myrae Finlay, 32, a former in Vancouver. She, too, says 50-year-old Ottawa resident Dorothy Young. "I think 18 is pretty young, and I say no."

The question remains where respondents are most likely to consider homosexual teenagers sex. Would they allow a male teenager to have sex in their home with his steady boyfriend? Seventy-seven per cent say no, including Finlay. "He wouldn't be allowed in my house, let alone his parents'," states the Vancouver former. "In rural Saskatchewan, that is not acceptable." Finlay's response is typical of 45 per cent of party supporters—only seven per cent of them say yes to the male homosexual coupling, compared with 57 per cent of Bloc Quebecois supporters in the other end of the scale.

Opposition to teenagers having sex in the home drops slightly if they are lesbians, to 71 per cent nationally. Ontario and Atlantic Canadians are most uncomfortable, with 80 per cent opposing. British Columbians are decidedly liberal about lesbian sex (33 per cent say yes), but extremely uncomfortable about male gay sex (approving placements to seven per cent).

Nationally, Quebecers are by far the strongest proponents of a live-and-let-live attitude towards sex. In that province, 39 per cent of respondents—aged 16 to 69—per cent of Bloc Quebecois supporters—say it is important to accept others' rights to different lifestyles. Montreal school teacher Jean Genest, 33, who has no children of his own, says he has no problem with any of the 15-year-old sexual couplings suggested in the poll as long as they were with regular partners. Homosexuality "wouldn't be a problem," he says. "Everybody's sexuality is not the property of anyone else."

As for changing attitudes, a solid majority at Canadian 60 per cent believe the country has become more permissive in sexual matters over the past 10 to 20 years. Dorothy Young, who has a 23-year-old son and 19-year-old daughter, says parents talk more openly, sometimes just to keep ahead of what their kids are learning at school about sex, AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. "We always discuss it," she says. "I never had sex with my mother," she says. "You have to."

But Canadians are not particularly happy with the trend. Among those who think sexual attitudes have become more permissive, only 20 per cent find that a good thing. Approval of the change is highest in Quebec, at 50 per cent. Chantelle Charbonneau, who finds more permissiveness a good thing, says she was a teen mother. Her son, who is now 30, she accidentally became pregnant three months before her wedding day. "Today when that happens, it's not the kid," she says. "They'll get help or they'll have an abortion." Charbonneau, now 35 and her husband, Jacques, had that first child and four more, and now have four grandchildren. She has watched two of her children live with their mistakes before getting married. "I didn't like it at first," she admits. "It's a matter that we

talked about it and I said, 'Try it and we'll see.'"

For Woodstock's Dorell Lawrence, an "anything goes" trend in popular culture is a cause for concern. "You can't turn on a TV now without seeing something sexual," he complains. "I don't find it offensive at all." He found the producers of the Bill Clinton Monica Lewinsky scandal, with all its television melodrama and lurid details, personally embarrassing. "It's more than we needed to know," says Lawrence.

The poll does not ask directly about attitudes towards the Clinton affair. But indirectly, says Allan Genest, chairman of the polling firm The Strategic Council, it provides "the final link in the Bill Clinton chain." He says it explains, from a Canadian point of view, why Clinton gets off so easily with voters. While the respondents state forcefully that having an affair while in a long-term relationship is unacceptable behavior (58 per cent hold that view), only a third of them think it is grounds for a politician to leave office.

Nevertheless, a permissive society still has to deal with one widely offered at sexual explanation: teenage pregnancy. The poll asks Canadians to imagine that their 15-year-old daughter was pregnant and didn't want to continue carrying the fetus-to-be. Would their advice be to keep the child and let it be a single mother, to abort the fetus, to have the baby and give it up for adoption, or to have an abortion?

The most popular of those difficult choices is to keep the baby (44 per cent). "I definitely think she should keep the child," says Finlay from his Saskatchewan farm, trying to imagine his own daughter. "Our lifestyle is flexible, so we can help." The people most likely to hold the same view were quite young—25-39 (43 per cent)—or fairly old—40-65 (58 per cent), people with high school education or less (53 per cent), the unemployed (54 per cent) and those living alone (50 per cent).

Twenty per cent of Canadians would advise their daughter to give the child up for adoption. Most likely to hold that opinion are people over 65 years (25 per cent), English-speakers (24 per cent), compared with just five per cent of French-speakers, and residents of the Prairies (24 per cent). And the three reasons most often cited for that support, at 19 per cent, led by a 29-per-cent approval in Quebec. The lowest support for abortion was in the Prairies (seven per cent) and Atlantic Canada (nine per cent).

Chantelle Charbonneau's offence—prenatal sex with a man she was about to marry and has since been with for 35 years—was slight by current standards. But she says she was not aware of her daughter's unplanned pregnancy until she presented difficult choices. "It's a very big question that would ask a very long time to resolve," she says. "I think I would suggest an abortion, but if she didn't want one, the real would depend on how mature she was." Degrees of permissiveness may wax and wane, but sex, in its myriad forms, will always have too many consequences to be confined to the privacy of the bedroom. □

'I don't think it would be anything that I could allow'

Willing to allow an 18-year-old daughter or son to have sex in the home with a steady partner of the opposite sex: 27%

Willing to allow a homosexual liaison in the home.

- For 18-year-old son: 18%
- For 18-year-old daughter: 22%

Percentage who would advise a pregnant 17-year-old daughter who did not want a relationship with the father-to-be to:

- have an abortion: men 17, women 20
- give child up for adoption: men 22, women 19
- be a single parent: men 47, women 41



'Six times a week'

Who is having the most sex in Canada? As usual, the busy Newfoundlanders take that honour, with 78 per cent reporting themselves as sexually active in this year's poll. Not only do they score themselves eight percentage points above the national average, they also appear to be among the most out of their sex lives. Among the 97 per cent of respondents nationwide who answered a series of questions on sexual matters, fully 95 per cent of Newfoundlanders declare themselves satisfied—five points above the national average. And while skeptics may suspect an element of cheerful enthusiasm in Newfoundland's numbers, their longevity as sex champs throughout the 15 years of Abacus Research and Poll's ongoing survey says otherwise. "They have had sex with every year," remarks Alan Gregg, chairman of the polling firm The Strategic Counsel. "I don't think we would see that sort of consistency from any other group."

But why Newfoundland? Thirty-four-year-old Cathy Graham, who lives in Lunenburg, 40 km southwest of St. John's, with her husband, Bernard, and their five young children, is one Newfoundlanders who says she is sexually active. "I blame it on the cold winter nights and high winds," jokes Graham. Consistently close behind Newfoundlanders are Quebecers, with their 74 per cent declare themselves sexually active. At the other end of the scale, British Columbians report the lowest rating, 68 per cent. Vancouver grocery store cashier Trevor Williams, 36, who answered that he was not very sexually active, thinks he can explain his province's showing compared with Newfoundlanders. "Well, we're not used to staying in," he says, referring to that same cold and wind. "We're out doing other things...and we have a good employment rate. Provincial residents aside, the poll reveals a parking trend. Even though it takes two to tango, men consistently report themselves as more sexually active (75 per cent of men) than women (63 per cent). "Men just think they're doing it more than they are," explains Gregg.

Gratton. Fewer men are 'very satisfied' because their 'sexual ambitions are harder to fulfil'

"To say they are lying would be an unfortunate interpretation," he says. In fact, when it comes to defining what sort of frequency adds up to "sexually active," men and women may not be on the same playing field. Providing a male perspective is Jean Gratton, a 30-year-old single schoolteacher in Montreal, who answered that he was "very sexually active." And how would he define "sexually active"? "I'd say five or six times a week," he cheerfully replies. By contrast, poll respondent Barbara Jean Beauchamp, a 35-year-old fashion designer in Le Centre, Que., says when asked to define "sexually active" in a follow-up interview: "I don't know, I'd say an average of two or three times a week."

Whatever the numbers, however, more women than men consider themselves "very satisfied" with their sex lives (58 per cent and 46 per cent, respectively), while men seem slightly more likely to call their sex lives simply "satisfied" (52 per cent, compared with 38 per cent of women). For women, it seems, frequency is not the be-all and end-all of satisfaction. "If women don't have it as often as they'd like," says Felise Chapman, 21, a student at Ontario's University of Waterloo, "they take control and make it a spectacular experience." Gratton, on the other hand, says much sexual satisfaction is simply harder to fulfil. "We look for new things and new partners," he says. "It may be a bad thing, but it's like that."

Most likely to call themselves sexually satisfied are married respondents, those aged 25 to 40, Newfoundlanders and Quebecers. Least likely are respondents with a household income less than \$20,000. To Chapman, that makes sense. "Money does have an impact on sex life," she says. "People with lower incomes may be too tired from trying to make a living to have sex. People with lots of free time have lots of sex."

MACLEAN'S/SCBC POLL SEXUAL ACTIVITY

As for age and sexual activity, an old joke had it that couples in their 20s have sex "between," another 30s they "try weekly" and in the 40s they "try weekly." Any sex beyond that didn't bear a mention, as if people fell off a sexual precipice on their 50th birthday. Not any more, according to the poll. Ten years ago, 51 per cent of 25- to 34-year-olds called themselves sexually active. Now, that number jumps to 64 per cent. In fact, the numbers reporting themselves as somewhat sexually active are consistent from 25 right through to 64, dipping only slightly from 59 per cent to 58. Then, in the 65-plus category, they plummet to 30 per cent.

But when it comes to the "very sexually active" elite—those aged 25 to 34 with a 78 per cent and just five per cent beyond that age. With "very sexually active" numbers added together, the peak age group is 25-29 years (82 per cent). That combined category will capture 96 per cent in the 30-64 group, before dropping off to 35 among the 65-and-over.

By one measure, 1998 was a very good year. After slipping consistently to a low of 10 per cent in 1995, the numbers calling themselves "very sexually active" recovered only slightly over the next two years. Now, they have rebounded to 17 per cent, almost matching the record 18 per cent in 1995. Or maybe it was just men who thought they were having sex more in 1995 than they were.

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Quebecers—at 22%—are the most likely to consider themselves among the "very sexually active" elite; Prairie residents—at 12%—are the least likely

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DELIVERED TO THE STATES





The Regans relaxing at home in Bedford, N.S., following the verdict from a trial.

said the Crown should take its lead from the jury's "loud, clear verdict" and say "let's forget about it." He may have a point: clearing Regan on all eight counts of rape, attempted rape, indecent assault and unlawful confinement, involving three women, seemed a stunning affirmation of the police investigation that led to the charges. And the verdict was another huge setback for the provincial Public Prosecutions Service, already under fire for its controversial handling of a number of recent high-profile cases.

None of them, though, had the drama of the Regan trial. Greenup, during his summation, told the jury that the case they had just witnessed "was not a Hollywood story." But he, more than anyone, knew that was a tale that had everything the tawdry spectacle of a once-powerful man now humbled by the anguish and humiliation of his long-suffering spouse: the public pain of his three middle-aged accusers, repeatedly driven to tears by Greenup's momentary smiling, and the open animosity between the shy, retiring defence lawyer and Adrian Reid, the brooding Crown prosecutor.

There was also drama outside of the courtroom. After the 10 jurors—two were excused during the course of the trial—began their deliberations at precisely 2:28 p.m. last Thursday, a new flood of allegations against them appeared in the media. The RCMP's five-year investigation originally turned up 22 women who claimed the engineer had assaulted them. Ultimately, the police only felt confident enough to lay 18 charges involving 13 complainants. And last April, when Associate Chief Justice Michael MacPhail threw out charges relating to nine of the women, he stopped a publication ban on their evidence. But it expired once the jurors were sequestered in their Halifax hotel room. Among the previously banned evidence: a legislative page who said Regan assaulted her in his office in 1977, family historians who said he indecently assaulted three decades ago, and a reporter who claimed he attacked her in his hotel room when she arrived to conduct an interview.

Greenup, worried that the news would somehow be leaked to the jurors, was already telling minimal evidence: instead the verdict. Instead, the case slipped exactly where he wanted it—focused on hard-to-prove, decades-old allegations brought by accusers of varying credibility. The rising question for the jury was: did the Crown prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt? As the hours passed and the jurors periodically asked the judge for guidance on points of law, it was clear they had their reservations.

The first complainant to take the stand during the trial was a white-haired, grizzled, 56-year-old grandmother. Speaking quietly, she told of being a 14-year-old virgin who knew nothing about sex when Regan gave her a lift from Halifax to Whitehorn, where they both lived, one summer day in 1966. As she told it, the strapping 20-year-old lawyer and sports broadcaster pulled off the highway into a deserted gravel pit, locked the car doors and brutally raped her. "He told me that it would always be like this," she said, in barely audible words, "that some day I would cry."

During cross-examination, Greenup expanded his theory—that her story existed only in the imagination of a desperate woman, from a family that has long been obsessed with Regan. She has never been able to find the gravel pit again, he stressed. The reason, said Greenup, the woman had tripped up the rape allegation to explain an out-of-wedlock child he had in 1980—at the age of 19—by a local hockey player. Greenup had intruding attorneys told to bolster his case: after Regan became provincial New Scotia Solicitor General, the woman's mother agreed rumors that Regan had actually fathered the child. And the woman's mother publicly confronted the politician, claiming that he was actually the progeny of Regan and the woman she always believed to be his sister.

Regan's second accuser was also 16 and a grandmother. She told of being a 16-year-old who accepted a lift from Regan at a Windsor skating rink in 1966. According to her story, Regan pulled the car into a wooded area, then tried unsuccessfully to rape her in the backseat. But the defence furiously attacked her testimony: given the parallels between her testimony and the first complainant's, Greenup suggested to the jury that the two—who were barely—had simply made the stories up. And he accused to

FLAMBOYANCE AND VICTORY

Everybody—even those who don't personally know Edward Greenup—seems to call him simply "Eddie." And, to the eye, there is a warm, caddy quality to the short, plump, cigar-chomping Toronto lawyer who, during lunch breaks from the Gerald Regan trial, could be glimpsed getting his fix of take-out at the nearby A&W outlet. But the candidness disappears when he steps into the courtroom. There, Greenup shows the toughness that has made him the dean of Canada on criminal defence lawyers. Since taking Regan's case, Greenup, 54, has threatened to ask Crown

prosecutor Adrian Reid to "step outside" over remarks he made during a preliminary hearing. His inquisitive style of questioning reduced middle-aged sexual abuse complainants to tears on the witness stand—and his heartrending call to acquit his client did the same to one female juror. In the end, Greenup argued the Regan case into a convincing courtroom victory, showing the jurors that he has demonstrated with stunning regularity since graduating from Toronto's Osgoode Hall Law School (now part of York University) 30 years ago.

It was a case he has been varied. Once, he represented Kevin Everts, a 28-year-old burlesque queen charged with performing an indecent performance. But Everts, who claimed to be a stripper for

God, said God had told her that sex was beautiful and urged her to do her act as a method of preaching. "What if God really does talk to her?" Greenup asked the judge. "Do you want to gamble that she's not telling the truth?" Everts was subsequently acquitted.

Along with the wins, there have been high-profile losses. Greenup was reportedly paid \$1.3 million for his unsuccessful defence of Ontario milk-milkman Hal Smith, who was convicted in 1986 for having a hit man to kill his wife. More often than not, though, the workaholic lawyer with the encyclopedic memory of legal cases leaves the courtroom victorious. His last big case in Atlantic Canada was his defence of former provincial tourism minister Roland Thomlin, who stood 17 sexual-related charges. After the judge dismissed 16 of the charges, the rest were withdrawn by Nova Scotia's Public Prosecutions Service—the same opponents Greenup faced in the Regan trial. "I'm feeling pretty damn good," he said after his most recent victory. And, as usual, he had every right to.



Greenup: his style reduced witnesses to tears.

NOT GUILTY

A jury acquits Gerald Regan of eight sex-related charges

BY JOHN DeMONT

Gerald Regan waited silently for his moment of truth as a Halifax courtroom late last week. He looked his first lawyer, as he waited and his chest rose and fell with shallow breaths as he sat staring at the jury while the clerk read out the eight sensational charges against the former Nova Scotia premier and ex-federal cabinet minister. Regan hardly reacted when the jury foreman said "not guilty" to the first charge, that the third time he heard those words, the 60-year-old looked forward expectantly in his chair. He started to stand, after learning he was cleared of the seventh count. And, after the foreman said "not guilty" for the

eighth and last time, Regan was upright, fiercely hugging his wife, Carol, perhaps confident, for the first time in five years, that he will receive a free case for the rest of his days. "We are," he told reporters after emerging from the courtroom clutching his wife's hand, "immensely relieved by the verdict."

It took the jury just eight hours to clear him of the charges—surprisingly short time for a case that began its publicity in 1992 when the RCMP acknowledged they were investigating allegations of "sexual misconduct" by Regan. His new life almost began just as he has to be back in court on Feb. 19 to face another charge of indecent assault. And, of course, the Crown could also try to appeal last week's acquittal. But Regan's lawyer, Edward Greenup—who has always contended that his client was the victim of an unfounded witch-hunt—

destroy her credibility by demonstrating to the jury how her allegations had evolved and given more serious in the years after the police first questioned her in 1993.

The third complainant, who said Regan assaulted her in August, 1989, was much harder to discredit. By then, Regan was leader of the provincial Liberal party and the official opposition, and the accuser was an 18-year-old girl Friday working at party headquarters. (One lunch later, also discredited, Jospin asked her to bring a stein full into his office. She walked in, eyes lowered. When she looked up, she testified, Regan was staring between her with a grin on his face and his erect penis protruding from his crotch.) By her next testimony was of a drunken bender on the floor in Regan's bed and of all her parties. He demanded on the carpet, she said, she tossed her \$20 for her dress, which he had ripped. The next morning, she testified, she was fired.

A gripping story—even if Greenpeace made much of the fact that the woman had previously held under oath not to disclose that she had hidden a sexual relationship with Regan—was so credible that Greenpeace 30 Elder credibility contest bolstered by the testimony of a somewhat flustered polemicist David Rint and his wife, Linda, who had lived next door to the complainant's family and told the court of hearing the same story of assault from her that she would, several years later, repeat to the jury.

But it was a shorthanded victory. Later, it seemed to a question from the jurors, MacDonald told them that the polemicist's testimony did not, in fact, confirm the assault had taken place. And by that point, the jury had already surrendered the truth-finding contest to Regan's own aggression in the witness stand. He seemed that he did not know two of the complainants and barely remembered the third, and that he and his wife, Carole, who testified on their 17th, 1988, in Ottawa—had been on their honeymoon where one of the assaults was supposed to have occurred. (Greenpeace also seemed to have accepted the testimony and memorabilia to back up the claim.)

Later, looking in the not-quite verdant, Greenpeace speculated that hounding his client by putting him on the witness stand—while his wife and four of his six children in the courtroom—likely helped sway the jury. So, perhaps, did the emotional display, in which the attorney asked the jurors to weigh his client and "set him free with his wife and children." When Greenpeace finished, Regan and his entire family were in tears—just as they were at the end of the trial after the sting of newly verified. "We just want to go home and maybe have a drink and something to eat," an elated Regan said after the trial. The court was recommending Regan's probation for the moment, at least—put aside. □



Putting the ghost to rest

There was no French to placate the palate of France's visiting prime minister, Lionel Jospin, that Jean Charest served a Canadian schizo to his guests at a state dinner held at Ottawa's National Gallery last week, encouraging them during his toast to "discover the charms" of the Quebecois French side of the coin. The image of a good-humoured Charest shilling Canadian values to the French is a pleasant twist on a relationship that has not been best for a long time. For at least 30 years, exchanges between French and Canadian politicians have been defined by glowing, strained by mistrust, punctuated with suspicion. The root of the tension is

Quebec was not an issue during French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin's visit to Canada

There has always been a fatal cultural mismatch element in the behaviour of Canadian politicians and journalists when it comes to dealing with the French. Quebec politicians adopt the mantle of the superego, glowing over any bit of official treatment. When Lucien Bouchard met three French presidents in 1984, his exuberance went into a tizzy at the appearance of a man who looked like a young version of the Elton John of the 1960s. "It's for Lucien," they squeaked delightedly. What could the French be signalling with this display of such over-the-top adulation? We're, nothing actually. The honour guard was just arm-waving to welcome Mitterrand's next visitor, a European prime minister.

But politicians and journalists from outside Quebec carry political baggage, too. Ever since Charles de Gaulle's blundering cry at Montreal City Hall in 1967, they seem acutely aware of the risk. They're French leaders looking to exploit the quagmire of "two-sideline" but non-interference in Canada. Quebec often plays the French role in other foreign policy spheres, by the way, and each official is cautioned for any change in emphasis.

The remarkable thing about Jospin's trip last week was that it was so unremarkable. (First planned for last July, the visit was postponed when Jospin thought better of being

away as the host French soccer team marched towards winning the World Cup.) When the two prime ministers did differ, it was over "normal" issues: Canada's unpopularity with a ban on asbestos (France claims it is a public health hazard) and Ottawa's support for the bombing of Iraq. Quibbles cynically suggested the hearings were "inevitable but not necessary." "We do not disagree," explained Charest. "It's an issue we interpret somewhat differently."

Such common sense, Charest clearly seemed relieved to be dealing with the second prime minister rather than another busy French conservative politician. His relations with President Jacques Chirac

are stiff, at best, in part stemming from Chirac's unspoken prediction that Charest wouldn't win his 1995 provincial election. But Jospin, with his hymns to reforming the economics of globalization, is more on the Canadian prime minister's wavelength. Together they worried about the velocity and power of international movements of capital, one wondering how they would cope with the

might limit the pervasiveness of American culture. "There's a convergence of views between Canada and France," said Jospin. "We are sensitized to the weight of the United States. Sympathy is a word that comes to mind." Above all, Jospin referred to "Canada, as an economic space, as a whole." It was a statement that French investment seems more to Canada than just Quebec.

Jospin is not about to turn his back on France's network of transatlantic partners. But there are signs he is taking France as new directions. His government has declared its intention, for example, to open relations with the Republic of South Africa, a significant change. He praised Canada's diversity last week, a sign that he may see Canada as more amiable than simply an English-French compact. Jospin seemed to realize that, if he is recruiting allies to counter U.S. cultural influence, one of the most aggressive weapons are English-speaking Canadians from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. How refreshing it would be if it could put out our Prozac switch when we comes to France.

BYELECTION BACKLASH

Voters in the Vancouver Island riding of Penticton-Okanagan handed B.C. Premier Glen Clark and his New Democrats an overwhelming byelection defeat. Liberal Judith Reid collected 13,324 votes to retain the seat for her party, compared with just 5,012 for the NDP's Leonard Knig. "It's a strong message to the government that we've got to change or the people will change the government," Clark said.

HEPATITIS C DEAL

Negotiators reached a tentative agreement to compensate Canadian infected with hepatitis C through the blood system. The federal and provincial governments also acknowledged for the first time that people infected before 1985 and after 1990 are entitled to compensation, although the \$1.1-billion agreement made no specific provision for them. For the estimated 8,500 infected from 1988 to 1990, it provides an up-front payment of at least \$10,000 plus additional compensation up to \$20,000 depending on the severity of the illness, and funding for drugs and home-care services.

REFERENDUM REBUFFED

In a poll conducted by Sondog for *Montreal's Le Devoir* newspaper, fully 72 per cent of respondents said that Premier Bernard Landry should not set a mandate to hold another referendum on secession with his Nov. 30 election victory. While Bouchard's Parti Québécois captured a majority, Jean Charest's Liberals took slightly more of the popular vote.

PAIDING THE HOMELESS

Public Works Minister Aileen Griffin announced an extra \$50 million for grants and loans to assist housing for the poor and the homeless. The new money doubles the amount for the program in this fiscal year. It is meant to help poor Canadians repair their homes and allow landlords to bring existing properties up to standard.

BOUNCING BACK

The Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario decided that Sylvain Laing of Getlink, Que., could keep his \$426,000 three-hour home care even though he bought his winning lottery ticket with a \$103 cheque that bore the name of a man, meanwhile, made good on the NSF cheque.



PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE

ONE LAST GOODBYE:

Maurs Farmer wiped away a tear while she stood at the graveside of her fiancé, Capt. Michael Vandenberg of the Brambling aerobics team. Vandenberg, 29, died on Dec. 18, after the wing of his B-26 jet crashed that of a fellow Sparrow pilot prior to a training exercise near Meuse, Jan. 20. Vandenberg was ejected but did not survive the crash, which is still under investigation, while his colleague landed safely. More than 400 mourners packed a church in Vandenberg's home town of Whitchurch, Ont. "I was never asked to watch Mike fly," Farmer said in a statement. "I believe it completely fulfilled him."

Real-life drama at the CBC

Added the name of Jim Byrd to that of high-ranking CBC executives who have unexpectedly quit in recent years. Byrd, vice-president in charge of English-language television, stunned colleagues with his announcement that he is leaving—with no declared future plan. Many employers speculate that Byrd was pushed out by James McCool, the chief operating officer of the CBC, because he was reluctant to initiate hard-belt-tightening measures in the wake of a \$400 million in cuts over the last five years. Byrd's replacement is Harold Redgrave, a longtime CBC Radio executive who is considered more amenable to cost-cutting.

As well, the associate of Peter Beatty, the CBC's president and CEO, expires on March 31, and some sources suggest that his position will be restructured, with reduced responsibilities, before a successor is named. (Beatty said last week that he intended to be "fully engaged" in his job until his term ends.) Meanwhile, speculation is growing over who will replace Beatty, or whether Prime Minister Jean Charest, who appoints the president, will ask Beatty to stay on another year. Beatty has privately indicated that he would welcome a five-year reappointment. Other likely candidates include former CBC executives Trina MacQueen, now at The Discovery Channel, and Peter Hovind, now at the CBC's new service as head of Ontario's TVO network to pursue "other opportunities," as well as University of Toronto professor Robert Prehoda, who announced last week that he will "stand aside" from his post on June 30, 2000.

An APEC conundrum

The beleaguered APEC inquiry, already hit by letters by over challenges and the Dec. 4 resignation of its chairman, Gerald Munn, was rocked again by the news that no two other cabinet ministers had also quit. The RCMP Public Complaints Commission, which established the inquiry to investigate claims that police used excessive force during the November,

1997, APEC summit meeting in Vancouver, announced that Visa Starr and John Wright had submitted their resignations in a joint letter dated Dec. 30. The politicians gave their reasons their belief that the inquiry's numerous setbacks had "accumulated negative effect on the integrity of our process." In a written statement, commission chairwoman Shirley Hooley pressed to announce soon how the inquiry will proceed.

ON TRIAL

As bombs rain on Baghdad, the House impeaches Bill Clinton

In the kinder, gentler Washington of, oh, about a year ago, people could count on a few sure things. Politicians would bluff and puff, and life would go on. The intimate details of people's sex lives would not be laid out for public consumption by the official government printing office. And when all else failed, everyone could at least unite around their hatred for that modern day devil figure, Saddam Hussein.

The fact that even Saddam had by now weakened his power to resist Washington's warnings led their hostilities aside, volumes about the bitterness that divides the 435 House of Representatives, as his enemies immediately suggested, had hoped to buy time by launching a four-day aerial barrage against Iraq on the very eve of a vote to impeach him in the House of Representatives, the move backfired. Instead of uniting, the Republicans who were calling for his head turned on for the kill. With a pause of just 24 hours to acknowledge that American troops were once again raining bombs and missiles upon Iraq, they pushed on with their even more historic political bombardment of Clinton.

Suddenly, simultaneously, he was both commander-in-chief and the first elected president ever to suffer the ignominy of impeachment. At 1:30 p.m. last Saturday, the House passed the first article of impeachment, dividing almost exactly along party lines. Only five Democrats joined the Republican majority to oppose the article by a vote of 208 to 206, and just five Republicans crossed the other way to oppose it. The article alleges that the President perjured himself during testimony last August before the grand jury investigating the Monica Lewinsky scandal, and charges that Clinton "has undermined the integrity of the office, has brought disrepute on the Presidency, has betrayed his trust as President and has acted in a manner subversive of the rule of law and justice."

It brought Clinton to the lowest point of what had become—in the instant phrase of the moment—a splintered presidency. On one screen, a parade of congressmen alternately defending and denouncing him for the web of deceit he wore to cover up his adulterous affair with young Lewinsky. On the other, night-woven images of explosions rocking Baghdad and the antipathetic voices of U.S. commanders denouncing the damage they had done to Saddam's



ANDREW PHILLIPS
IN WASHINGTON

ability to threaten the world with so-called weapons of mass destruction. The dual scenes of impeachment and Iraq underscore so sometimes jarring ways. When Clinton spoke from the Oval Office, visibly shaken after an exhausting three-day trip to the Middle East and days of tirelessly attempting to stem the tide of impeachment, he told Americans that America's message to Saddam was clear: "If you set redoubtless you will pay a heavy price."

Two had Clinton did not heed his speechwriters' advice. Three days later, his own recklessness with Lewinsky just steps away from the Oval Office and the law he told to keep it all quiet cost him the heaviest price a president can pay short of being forced from office. There were, however, victories for Clinton. The House approved only two of the four articles of impeachment brought against him—the one charging that he perjured himself before the grand jury, and another alleging that he obstructed justice by among other things, urging Lewinsky to lie about their liaison. It rejected two other articles—including one charging Clinton with obstructing justice during a deposition in Paula Jones's sexual harassment lawsuit against him. That could have led to be crucial even many Democrats had acknowledged that Clinton almost surely lied at that time, such as when he denied having "sexual relations" with Lewinsky and said he could not even recall being "alone" with her. The defeat of that article means that his lawyers will have an easier time defending him against the remaining charges.



House members laid the charges in a Senate official's humiliation.

known along with Andrew Johnson, who on Feb. 24, 1868, became the only other president to be impeached by the House. Johnson, elected as vice-president and elevated after Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, was sent to trial in the Senate, where he won by a single vote. Clinton must now face a similar ordeal, starting in early January when the Senate reconvenes (page 60). Conventional wisdom has long held that the Senate is highly unlikely to convict Clinton and eject him from office. A two-thirds majority is needed for that, and Republicans held just 33 of the 100 Senate seats—meaning that 15 Democrats would have to join them to prosecute the President guilty. But with impeachment momentum still strong,

ARTICLE ONE

William Jefferson Clinton wilfully provided perjurious, false and misleading testimony to the grand jury

ARTICLE THREE

William Jefferson Clinton . . . has prevented, obstructed and impeded the administration of justice

Critics questioned the President's motives on Iraq

Clinton's prospects in the Senate no longer look quite so sure. Even before the House can vote, his aides were already looking ahead. According to one report, their plans included trying to enlist respected former Democratic senator George Mitchell—who brokered the Good Friday peace agreement on Northern Ireland—to lend the President's defense in the upper chamber.

While Republicans determined to hold Clinton accountable, undecided senators are also divided. In days before the House made it official, but when it finally came, it still held the power to block Clinton's prospects. "I want to set the example that I hope President Clinton will follow," Clinton said. "That, at least, is one danger that will almost certainly not happen. 'Reinforcing' it's not in its DNA," and Nancy Pelosi, a Democrat from California, Clinton's defenders rallied around him—led by his wife, Hillary, who made the extraordinary gesture of traveling to Capitol Hill on the morning of impeachment Day to thank Democrats for supporting her husband. Clinton himself had stepped onto the sandy lawn of the White House, promised to keep working until "the last hour of the last day of my term," and immediately launched his campaign for redemption. He sounded the notes that Democrats will repeat in coming weeks as they fight to make sure that the Senate does not convict him—arguing for a compromise solution to end his ordeal as quickly as possible.

Clinton's sudden attack against Iraq came just as congressmen were gathering in Washington for what looked to be a critical vote for impeachment. The White House had held out hope that two dozen or so moderate Republicans might break ranks with their party. But early in the week they announced one by one how they planned to vote—and the news was all bad for Clinton. Republican Jack Quinn of New York, Tom Campbell of California, Nancy Johnson of Connecticut and a dozen more said to say they had weighed the evidence produced by independent counsel Kenneth Starr and the House Judiciary Committee, and concluded that the President had lied and deserved to be impeached.

The impeachment news seemed about to leave the station—when the White House and the Pentagon started beating the war drums against Iraq. At 6:59 p.m. EST on Wednesday, just after midnight in Baghdad, the first U.S. cruise missiles slammed into military targets in the Iraqi capital. The House was scheduled to start debating impeachment at 10 a.m. the next morning, but those plans were thrown into disarray. What happened next raised the question: How many Americans would support the war? The House Judiciary Committee's report on the U.S. troops in combat, as another inquiry unfolded. Senior Republicans openly questioned Clinton's motives. What, they asked, is a to-do about a replay of *War of the Worlds*, the movie in which a president captured by a sexual infatuation diverts the nation's attention with a convenient little war as the final days of his re-election campaign?

Great risk, the Senate majority said, announced unapologetically that he could not support the action. "Both the timing and the policy are subject to question," Gerald Solomon, chairman of the House rules committee, was even blunter. "Is this about us trying to do

everything they can to postpone the vote in order to get as much leverage as possible," he told a television later session. "For him to do this at this unbelievable time is just outrageous." The last time Clinton ordered air strikes, in just one month, against terrorist targets in Sudan and Afghanistan, he had just delivered his politically disastrous testimony to the Lewinsky grand jury and Lewinsky herself was testifying. "How many times can it be just coincidence?" wondered Porter Goss, a Florida Republican who chairs the House Intelligence Committee. "The real meaning of what is going on here now is that nobody believes anything."

Clinton, of course, duly denied that political calculations played any role in his decision to launch—or when to launch. But his awareness that some might question his motives

was apparent in his Oval Office address, when he painstakingly enumerated the list of top advisers who had concurred in his decision, "including the vice-president, secretary of defense, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, the secretary of state and the national security adviser." Could they all be on a plot to save him from impeachment, he seemed to be asking?

Instead, U.S. officials presented the decision to launch precisely on Wednesday night as one dictated by circumstance: Clinton's announcement in late November that Washington would strike Iraq without warning if the Baghdad government did not live up to its promises to allow U.N. weapons inspectors to work freely; a report issued Tuesday by chief inspector Richard Butler of Australia saying that the Iraqis had indeed broken their promises; and the start last Saturday evening of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. The window for a strike, their argument went, was narrow and closing fast. Internationally, Western countries including Canada backed the mission, although Russia, a longtime friend of Iraq, withdrew its ambassador from Washington in protest.

American skeptics, however, could point to argue that their deep and abiding mistrust of Clinton. First, his track record in his Oval Office address, when he painstakingly enumerated the list of top advisers who had concurred in his decision, "including the vice-president, secretary of defense, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, the secretary of state and the national security adviser." Could they all be on a plot to save him from impeachment, he seemed to be asking?



Damaged homes in Iraq's capital, critics said Saddam was too soft

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Canadian Journalist Alvin Stiles spent three weeks in Baghdad in late November and early December. An Arabic speaker, he said that report on the thinking of Iraqi leaders from the inside, in Beirut, Jordan.

"We should have kept this business," says Tariq Aziz. "That was the first mistake Saddam made." Aziz, 52, is a retired senior military officer and former high-ranking member of the ruling Baath party. The baggage he is taking about years thousands of "human shields" —

confrontations with Washington for November, Saddam is in of it. The first minute and allowed U.N. arms inspectors back into the country. "I am upset with the government," says a 30-year-old Baath party activist who does not want to be named. "Because they allowed those very dangerous U.N. inspectors to take into Iraq's most private affairs. It's like displaying your underwear willingly to strangers who don't like you."

Understandably in Saddam's position, where rooms are routinely searched and agents are everywhere, people do not criticize the president in public or in on-the-record interviews. But increasingly, one person will offer the opinion that the Americans have kept him in power to cripple him. "What I would like to say is that he has become a tool of those who want to destroy Iraq," Iraqis are proud of their history, and of their former role as a wealthy Middle East nation blessed with oil, water, rich soil and a well-educated population. Many are angry about the power that the United States has brought. And while older people can remember the pre-Saddam years with nostalgia, younger people—who grew up under eight years of war with Iraq, followed by the Gulf crisis—have no part of compassion.

In private, members of the Iraqi leadership are worried about a hardening of positions among younger party activists who blame the United States and the United Nations for backing the country's economic embargo. "If my party were in power, I would see the world in black and white," says a middle-aged Baath member who makes among the top brass of the leadership group. "America is essentially bad because they have never seen another side to it." In a country where might has been right for far too long, he says, "we have to be dealing with the enemy in a new way, not as a diplomatic, but as a form of defense." "Let the Americans know—how much damage can they do if they have not already done it in the past?" a 35-year-old Baath activist named Mahdoud says in November. Last week, he got a chance to read out.



Impeachment a challenge to Clinton to regain his seat

reced on Iraq showed only limited and last week, in November 2007, the UN inspectors began carrying out their mission of identifying and destroying weapons of mass destruction. Early this week, Clinton shifted away from military action. Why, asked his critics, the sudden enthusiasm for air strikes?

And the report, which U.S. officials cited as the trigger for their action, barely even so much as mention Washington had been aware of any findings for many days, and U.S. officials, the Washington Post reported, were involved in writing the document. The Pentagon had drawn up plans and positions of military equipment in the Gulf region in response for strikes any time after Dec. 1. But Clinton did not give us any preliminary instructions to go ahead with an attack and Sunday, Dec. 15, while he was at the Middle East, said not only the final order but that he was flying home aboard Air Force One the following Tuesday. The attack was set for the next night—approximately one in Washington.

Clinton's critics may not be able to prove the *Big Lie* they thought, but the attack did help the President build his case against the Republicans. For weeks, as the House Judiciary committee proceeded doggedly towards impeachment and the Republican majority in the full House followed its lead, Democrats concentrated on attacking the impeachment process itself as unfair and partisan. As Democrats actually stepped forward to defend Clinton's actions in the Lewinsky affair, but they wanted to paint the inevitable outcome as illegitimate. Barry Frank, a leading Democrat from Massachusetts, posed it as part of a wider assault by extremist Republicans against mainstream Democrats. "This is the beginning of a war the right wing serves the country."

The Republican (deep mistrust of Clinton played into that strategy. Delaying the impeachment debate might demolish momentum, they worried, so they put it off by only 24 hours. When the House finally convened on Friday morning to take up the President's fate, the bombs and missiles were still falling on Baghdad. To be sure, as Republicans pointed out, Democrats moved to impeach Clinton while American troops were dying in Vietnam. But it did not look good. Martin Frost, a Democratic congressman from Texas, bluntly said Republicans that they ought to be exchanging U.S. aircraft by sending the wrong signals to Baghdad. "The majority may well have blown on its hands by starting this proceeding today," he said. The entire impeachment process, the Democrats in effect argued, was not only unfair and illegitimate—but also inept as well.

Almost overlooked amid the political fallout were questions about the attacks themselves. Clinton ordered an Saturday evening American forces, backed by British, Canadian fighter-bombers, sent three waves of missiles and bombs at military targets throughout Iraq. The U.S. may have sent 300 cruise missiles, including non-penetration weapons that deliver warheads at 1,000

ft., while the air force sent in fighters armed with laser-guided bombs to knock out Iraqi air defenses. The key targets of the missiles were forces that directly support Saddam's regime—Iraqi military intelligence headquarters in Baghdad and barracks housing elite Republican Guard troops on the outskirts of the city.

But even U.S. officials acknowledged that an air campaign is ineffective in accomplishing the key goal of Western countries: making sure that Iraq does not rebuild biological or chemical weapons or develop nuclear programs. Defense Secretary William Cohen said he has "no illusions" about how hard it is to destroy such weapons—especially ones constructed in a chemical or biological weapons factory might spread daily to towns. Other Pentagon officials worried that the campaign—dubbed "Desert Fox"—would achieve only limited, short-term results and could even have long-term benefits for Saddam. "Confidence is not running high," a U.S. Navy analyst told ABCNews during the operation.

Reconnaissance photographs showed major damage to some buildings targeted by U.S. planners, but the officials said it was unlikely that any biological or chemical weapons had been destroyed and any buildings where they might have been stored could be quickly replaced. While military intelligence headquarters appeared to have been reduced to rubble, sensitive records and scientific papers had probably been moved there. More importantly, the scientists and military planners behind Saddam's weapons program will be ready to restart a almost immediately.

When the U.S. attack in all likelihood marks a final end to the arms inspection program run by the United Nations Special Commission, Iraq's Vice-President Tariq Yassin al-Sayid called the inspectors "a communion of spies" and said their mission is now over. "Without UNSCOM teams in place to keep them in check, U.S. intelligence officials estimate the Iraqis could resume production of biological and chemical agents within months. "It can be argued," said one official with the Central Intelligence Agency, "that Saddam will be in a stronger position if he in fact has gained produce weapons of mass destruction. Getting rid of UNSCOM is like taking all the teeth."

The conflict on Iraq was the biggest military operation of Clinton's presidency, and in any normal case it would have dominated the news. It was a measure of the extraordinary nature of last week's events in Washington that it did not. Yet while impeachment was a humiliation for Clinton, he has many cards still to play. His opponents are ineffectual and, polls last week showed, have lost their momentum among voters by pursuing a line as reckless as the Republicans. And the public pressure for some kind of compromise solution such as an amnesty to save his grace when the historians do finally write the book on the Clinton presidency, they may well record that Saturday, Dec. 16, 1998 "was the low point. He has nowhere to go but up."

Clinton's defenders rallied around him



The First Lady: a special thank you for Clinton NY

In the footsteps of history

BY ANDREW PHILLIPS

The last few things that this—the only other time things went this far—the fate of the President hung upon a single vote. The year was 1868. Andrew Johnson had been impeached by the U.S. House of Representatives and was on trial in the Senate. It was just three years after the end of the Civil War. Radical Republicans wanted to throw Johnson out of office for being too soft on the white supremacist governments that still ruled the states of the defeated Confederacy. The radicals needed 36 of the 54 votes in the Senate, a two-thirds majority, to convict him. It all came down to a freshman senator from Kansas, Edmund Ross.

Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, called on Ross to stand by his desk and answer the question. Is the respondent Andrew Johnson guilty or not guilty of a high misdemeanor as charged?

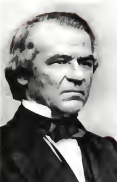
The answer was electric. Ross knew his nature: career turned on a dime. He wrote later that his very "power of hearing and seeing" were heightened. "Every line was added, not a foot moved, not the rattle of a garment, not a whisper was heard... I almost literally looked down into my own eyes. Friendships, position, fortune, everything that makes the detestable to an ambitious man, were about to be swept away by the breath of my mouth, perhaps forever." He gave his answer: "Not guilty." Johnson was saved by one vote and Ross became an instant among his fellow Republicans. His subsequent fate has led for conviction and spent much of the rest of his life in poverty.

Johnson, like Bill Clinton, was an up-front governor by the South. Like Clinton, he was noted by random for a murky personal life and served as a governor—of Tennessee—before entering the White House. Johnson was Abraham Lincoln's vice-president, and assumed the top job when Lincoln was assassinated in 1865. Like Clinton, too, Johnson was a Democrat haunted by intransigent Republicans in Congress. And now that Clinton has been impeached by the House, the precedents laid down during Johnson's ordeal in the Senate will govern his trial there—did someone doubt Twentieth-century rules laid down in 1868—the Rules of Procedure

and Practice in the Senate when sitting on a impeachment trial? Unlikely—well shape Bill Clinton's fate.

A Senate trial would be presided over by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, sitting on the bench normally occupied by Vice-President Al Gore. Before Rehnquist, in what he known as the "wall of the Senate," would be two to three judges chosen by the other. It is not clear whether any of the latter would sit on the bench.

The Senate grapples with prosecuting a President



Andrew Johnson: senators could start about the process

do so by passing written orders to the chief justice. Only at the trial would they be allowed to speak—and then for just 25 minutes each, when they had a closed session to deliberate on their verdict.

No one knows how long a trial might last. The rules say it must be held at 1 p.m. sharp on the day after the Senate formally receives articles of impeachment. From there, it is not so certain as one day. "Sunday excepted," until "final judgment shall be rendered." Johnson's trial lasted 73 days. The Senate majority leader, Trent Lott, has said that Clinton's trial might take anywhere from three days to three weeks—but Democrats may be could drive on for months, bring up both the Senate and the Supreme Court as well as the White House.

Part of the problem is that while the Johnson rules set some precedents, they leave many questions unanswered. What is so much in issue, however, is that the Senate proceedings reflect a modern trial? Should there be a pre-trial period for discovery and taking depositions from possible witnesses? What should be the standard of proof? Beyond a reasonable doubt, as in a criminal trial? "The preparation of evidence," as in a civil trial? Or some other standard—such as "clear and convincing evidence," as was suggested during the McCarthy committee hearings? It will still take a two-thirds majority to convict—more of the 100 senators.

A trial, however, is not inevitable. Left until last week the Senate should go ahead with a trial soon after it re-convenes for the new session on Jan. 4, but it faces only a 51 vote short of the process. At any point, a simple majority of 51 senators could vote to discontinue the entire proceeding. Or the Senate, less partisan than the polarized House, could seek out a compromise settlement with Clinton—perhaps letting him to office while he accepts a rebuke from Congress and possibly such as losing the presidential pension or paying a hefty fine.

Whatever the outcome, history provides no easy guide to the right path. Ross, once considered traitor to his party after his vote for Andrew Johnson, was later hailed as a hero for resisting partisan pressures—most notably by John F. Kennedy in his 1960 book *Profiles in Power*. The Senate's history with Clinton will have to pay heed how they, in turn, will ultimately be judged.

A Time to Applaud.

The 1998 Entrepreneur Of The Year national award recipients are the epitome of entrepreneurial excellence in Canada. Through their vision, imagination and determination, they have built thriving businesses. Ernst & Young—together with Canadian Business magazine, Bank of Montreal, Nesbitt Burns, McCarthy Tétreault and Air Canada—is proud to honour them for their outstanding achievements.

Canada's Entrepreneur Of The Year

Ontario's Regional Entrepreneur Of The Year

Kwok Yuen Ho

ATI Technologies Inc.
Thornhill, Ontario



Pacific Canada's Regional Entrepreneur Of The Year

Peter Thomas

Semoth Capital Corporation
Vancouver, British Columbia

The Prairies' Regional Entrepreneur Of The Year

Robert Macdonald

Hurricane Hydrocarbons Ltd.
Calgary, Alberta

Quebec's Regional Entrepreneur Of The Year

Placide Poirier

MAAX Inc.
Sainte-Marie-de-Beauce, Quebec

Lifetime Achievement

Atlantic Canada's Regional Entrepreneur Of The Year

Harrison McCain, C.C.

McCain Foods Limited
Florenceville,
New Brunswick

Special Citations

Innovative Product Development

Nick Kulow

Bioriginal Food & Science Corp.
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Creative Service Integration

Jay Hennick

FirstService Corporation
Toronto, Ontario

Knowledge Commercialization

Ron Dembo

Algorithmics Incorporated
Toronto, Ontario

Customer-Driven Excellence

Alain Bouchard

Alimentation Couche-Tard Inc.
Laval, Quebec

1998 Entrepreneur Of The Year Awards



World NOTES

ISRAELI VOTE NEARS

Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said he would call early elections if he lost a preliminary vote on his decision to suspend the peace deal with the Palestinians. With pundits predicting a loss in the deeply divided Knesset, parties were gearing up for an expected April election. Officials said the peace process would likely be suspended until after the campaign. Netanyahu stopped a scheduled troop withdrawal, demanding the Palestinians fulfil all the terms of the pact.

FRENCH DENY GENOCIDE

A committee of French lawmakers concluded after a nine-month study that France was not culpable for the Holocaust's slaughter of minority Tatars and politically moderate Muslims in 1944. Parliament President Pauline Boncompagni insisted France had aided the Tatars despite signs of impending genocide.

KURDISH LEADER FREED

A Kurdish rebel leader was free to leave Italy after a court lifted restrictions on him—a decision condemned by Turkish leaders. Turkey, which considers Abdullah Öcalan a terrorist, wanted him sent back for trial, but Italy will not extradite people to countries with the death penalty. Öcalan's group has been fighting for a homeland in south-east Turkey since 1984.

CHINA DISSENT TRIALS

China said it would put the leader of the fledgling China Democracy party on trial this week as part of an intensifying crackdown on dissidents. Xu Weishi, 55, faces 10 years to life in prison on subversion charges. His other party activities were on trial last week. President Jiang Zemin reinforced a get-tough policy on dissidents, saying "The Western mode of political systems need never be copied."

GOD'S BANKER EXHUMED

The body of Roberto Calvi, the Vatican banker known as God's Banker, was exhumed to determine whether his 1983 death was a murder or suicide. Calvi's corpse was found hanging from a bridge in London after a bank with close links to the Vatican collapsed. Roman businessman Flavio Carboni has been charged with conspiracy to commit murder and his lawyers asked to have the body exhumed.



PEACE ON EARTH? Presidential bodyguards from the west African nations of Burkina Faso and Chad fight it out at the opening ceremony of a summit on—ironically—conflict prevention and resolution. The Organization of African Unity meeting was being held in the Burkina Faso capital Ouagadougou. The fistfight began during the arrival of African heads of state, when the two security teams got into an argument over access to the conference centre. The summit was attempting to broker a peace deal among warring parties in Congo and in other African conflicts.

Justice fails a murdered teen

A Bernadette charged with the horrific murder of a vacationing Canadian teenager walked out of jail a free man after the case against him was dismissed. Rebecca Middleton, 17, of Belleville, Ont., had been vacationing in Bernadette in July, 1996, when she was stabbed to death and sexually assaulted. Police charged Justin Smith, 20, with the murder largely on the basis of evidence given by his close friend Rick Mundy. Mundy had been with Smith on the day of the murder and was sentenced to five years for being an accessory after the fact. In a shocking turn of events, the court was told that subsequent DNA analysis revealed that semen found on Middleton's body was Mundy's, not Smith's. And because Mundy struck a plea bargain with the Crown, he could not be charged again. Ruling that evidence against Smith was too thin, Supreme Court Justice Vincent Morden asked the jury to find Smith not guilty. Rebecca's father David Middleton sat with his head crumpled in his hands during the announcement of the verdict, which will be appealed. "I am very disappointed," he said after the courtroom was cleared. "I think we know what happened and I think we know who did it."

Pinochet gets a second chance on immunity

In an unprecedented move, Britain's highest court set aside its own ruling against Gen. Augusto Pinochet because a judge failed to disclose his links with Amnesty International. The decision nullified the judiciary and stalled Spain's efforts to extradite the former Chilean dictator on charges of murder and terrorism. The astonishing ruling by a five-judge tribunal means that a new House of Lords panel will rehear Pinochet's case that under British law he is immune as a former head of state given him immunity from arrest. Pinochet, who was detained on Oct. 16 in London, cannot leave the country and is now under guard at a secret location.

BITTERNESS ON BAY STREET

Ottawa hands the banks a resounding defeat

BY KIMBERLEY NOBLE

On the face of it, Paul Martin's personal mission seemed simple. The federal finance minister had set out to do what Royal Bank of Canada chairman John Cleghorn had refused to do for Martin last January—promise Cleghorn with a heads-up warning about what was happening with his company's plan to merge with Bank of Montreal. Not only was Cleghorn the first of the four former bank chairmen invited to attend a private meeting with either the minister or representatives of the finance department, his status as Canada's most influential banker, as well as his personal relationship with Martin, meant Cleghorn was invited to dine at his home in Montreal for a heady chat on the afternoon of May 29.

Banking and government sources both say Martin did his utmost to be diplomatic. He did not want to appear to have made up his mind, given

that the federal cooperation bureau would not deliver its report on the mergers for almost two weeks, but he also wanted to prepare the banker for bad news. Late everything else arising from this year's failed bank mergers, however, this meeting between two of the most powerful figures in Canadian finance went all the rails forty feet. For weeks, Cleghorn's fan had been growing shorter as his frustration mounted over Canada's inability to understand the bankers' point of view. In response to Martin's easiness, something apparently snapped. Cleghorn asked straight out whether the Royal's merger with the Bank of Montreal, and the Toronto Dominion Bank's proposed arrangement with the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, were going to be allowed to proceed. "No," Martin said simply. Cleghorn, according to both banking and federal government accounts, said something along the lines of "No, but...". "It is useless what?!" Martin repeated his first answer. "No."

This was when the usually composed banker lost

Martin delivers his decision, the Credit Union Central's Knight (below): This industry is going to go through enormous changes. It's not just talk, it's reality.



it, according to government officials. Watching a year's work come to what the bankers see as political expediency and jargonism was apparently too much to swallow. His face grew red and he pounded the table, while giving the minister a verbal

For once in his life, Martin remained ice-cool. As Cleghorn gave vent to his complaints, all the finance minister said was "John, you're not listening to me." Sources close to Martin say he repeated this phrase several times before Cleghorn calmed down.

Cleghorn—the man whose surprise visit to his Bank of Montreal rival Matthew Barrett's 1997 Christmas party triggered this outburst

the government on its effort to do a thorough job of assessing the financial sector and told Ottawa to feel free to call on Scotiabank should it ever require any help.

In their own words, bankers spent last week "ticking their clocks"—not a bad analogy, given the fact that every major banking executive in the country went to ground and stopped there. Bank executives have refused to provide any public comment beyond a few terse statements to officials calling the mergers off. (The TD and CIBC wasted no time, making separate announcements the morning of Martin's decision, the Royal and Bank of Montreal gave it 24 hours before following suit the next day.)

Not behind the scenes, they are seething—and complaining loudly. One banker told the press of seeing the competition's mergers made public to "assist" in their surgery on The Learning Channel so everybody can watch and say, "Gosh, look at all the blood here." Another whiner said that while Canadians might think they hate bankers, they have not seen anything yet. "They're going to take it even less when they're made aware of what's happened," he grumbled, arguing that Martin's decision to postpone merger talks until after the federal government completes its lengthy review of the financial services sector means there will be no Canadian banks left by the time the Liberals get around to letting them join forces.

Some are even more apocalyptic. "So, how do you think you'll be living in 10 years?" asked one senior banker, suggesting that

required to set up Canadian subsidiaries with enough assets to back up any deposits.

New Banks. Perhaps the thorniest issue facing Martin is how to coax new owners into the banking business. The current law allows no individual or group to own more than 10 per cent of a bank—a major barrier to any company trying to set up a new one. The federal task force headed by Regina lawyer Harold MacKay called for a much more flexible regime. The 10 per cent limit would still apply to big banks, but smaller banks could be controlled by other corporations, MacKay suggested. For example, that a major retailer should be allowed to set up a bank. Federal officials said the earliest a new framework policy on ownership could be drafted would be late 1999.

Credit Unions. Knight says federal law should be amended to let credit unions combine forces to offer new nationwide services. But credit unions come largely under provincial jurisdiction, so Ottawa would have to negotiate changes with the provinces. If they succeed, customers might get more bank-like services when they travel outside their home communities, such as being able to make deposits at the automated bank machines of other credit unions. More importantly, credit

unions want to be allowed to combine forces to offer business lending on a bigger scale.

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JOHN GEDDES

A NEW VISION FOR FINANCIAL SERVICES

Stopping the mergers was the easy part. Armed with a half-dozen reports from parliamentary committees, task forces and federal regulators, Finance Minister Paul Martin found plenty of reasons to turn down the banks. But some of those same reports are full of constructive recommendations, which, if Martin acts on them, would amount to a built-in, politically risky reform of banking law. Foreign banks would play a bigger role. Credit unions would expand. Exclusively, other companies, such as retail store chains, might set up their own banks. "The whole uproar around the mergers was a signal that this industry is going to go through enormous changes," says Bill Knight, president and chief executive officer of the Credit Union Central of Canada. "It's not just talk, it's reality."

But are consumers ready for a new vision? While

the experts who have studied the banking system tend to favour a more free-market financial services marketplace, many consumers value security above all else. Canadians often resist their stable banks, but they also feel safe with them. A poll for MasterCard by Northstar Research Partners found that 60 per cent of Canadians have a positive impression of the current banking system.

That hardly amounts to a clamour for change. Still, Martin has left no doubt he wants to see much more competition in the "big banks' boardrooms and wants to give Canadians new banking choices. To that end, finance department officials are working on three main policy thrusts.

Foreign Banks. Martin is ready to table legislation as early as February to make it easier for foreign banks to open branches here. They are now

merger proposals—once again not in front of the pack. He may be the only banker in Canada with the connections and clout to direct the full force of his disappointment and outrage at the finance minister in person. But he is far from the only one who is angry and later over Martin's staggering Dec. 14 announcement that the bank mergers, as proposed, are dead—at least until the government completes its sweeping review of the financial services sector, a process that will not end until some time in early 2000.

In late 1999, the finance minister made it clear that government, not business, will decide what shape the country's banking sector takes allowed to take in the years ahead. And while there is still hope that the bankers will find a way to patch up their relations with Martin to time to work together on the same blueprint for their businesses, Cleghorn's meeting with Martin makes something else clear: the big banks are not going to take it any more. They will defer to Martin's decision—senior bankers say that under the Bank Act, they don't have much choice—but they are determined not to wait around to see what next year's regulatory review will bring. Instead, they say the banks will do, nobody can predict that time. The year they did might not, most senior Canadian bankers would gladly have traded their Christmas bonuses to have been in Cleghorn's place. (Bank of Nova Scotia chairman Peter Gosselin—the only chairman among the Big Five without a potential part-ner in the odd man out. He was considered

BUSINESS

any country that expects bank mergers is somehow headed for devastating and financial chaos.

When they take down the hyperbole and the rhetoric, the bankers make some interesting points. They question the way Ronald von Flotow, head of the competition bureau, handled the crucial matter of whether the banks would be allowed to propose remedies to serious concerns that have been raised about post-merger consolidation of such financial services as credit cards, brokerage subsidiaries and the monopoly of retail branches in certain provinces. Von Flotow is in on the record saying the banks would have to wait until the bureau was finished its review before offering their solutions, yet he suggested in a news conference last week that the banks were unwilling or unable to respond. "Our review was open from Day 1," he said in Ottawa. "And as we discussed problems with them on such issues as branch building they could have waited to finish all these and other solutions. They never did it."

Bank officials angrily denied they were given a chance to propose detailed solutions to the bureau's findings. "Nobody suggested it to be such a clean kill," says the top competition expert with one of the disappointed banks. Bankers are, however, reluctant to challenge von Flotow's version of events. One senior bank official cited the bureau's findings as "relations with the bureau in case the mergers are ever renewed, or any other future mergers and acquisitions come under von Flotow's purview."

Future relationships with customers, on the other hand, are a different matter. The sheer magnitude of bank managers' adaptation raises a key question: How much? Are Canadians really in for a time of scorched earth—laying off employees and closing branches and/or losing credit facilities and savings accounts—as the merger advocates begin narrowing this? In the insurance industry, there is strong speculation that Ottawa will award the banks consolidation prizes such as hefty slices of the insurance and auto leasing markets. "All we know for sure is that 2009 is going to be an interesting year," a senior Royal Bank of Canada spokesman told *Business Week*. "We're looking at a year in an uncertain cloud of fog. 'Oh, right,' countered a cynic in another industry, "but it's not going to be a year of a back-to-customer service. And how we need to protect that."

James made, there is one over-solded dogma from this debate that will come to pass: the status quo really isn't an option. No Canadian bank is going to sit still and wait to see what 2009 brings; they simply cannot afford to—especially in light of what the investment community considers to be maddening to rational financial performance by the pre-merger banks. (Only Scotiabank, its numbers and stock price included, has been profitable in 1998, generated a handful of review raises for its 1998 profits.)

Although the Big Five all reported 1998 profits of more than \$2 billion, both growth and return on equity—a ratio that measures how well each bank manages its money—fell substantially over the course of the year. Bank stocks have all fallen in the last eight months as down roughly 30 per cent from mid-august levels. This year's global financial upswing, and its impact on profitability, in the budget it faces in the coming year, and the Big Five and Bank of Montreal. Stock market analysts and bank officers are pulling their pants over Canadian banks to show that no matter what Ottawa says or what goes on in world financial markets, they can still post a healthy profit and year-over-year growth. Fund managers, for example, are reminding the banks of their claims during the merger debate that they need to chop in size to \$600 million to 150,000 jobs among the four banks to stay competitive. And on Friday, New York City-based Standard & Poor's, a credit rating agency, upped the bank substantially by placing its combined Royal Bank of Canada and Bank of Montreal in stable to negative, and warning other Canadian banks that they must



Robert Bell and Gregor announcing their merger plan, now, a shaky alliance

The year could bring mergers with American banks, branch closings

rethink their business strategies or face possible ratings downgrades. It's a bright note. S&P's top 500 list of companies accredited to become bank branches gave about what some retail customers call the banks Royal's consumer-oriented because the nation S&P's ranks that company above the rest. What's more, Bank of Montreal and CIBC's branch networks are cited as sources of growth and stability in the midst of otherwise volatile business years.

Canadian consumers are already getting the cold glimpse of what is in store for them. The most striking example is TD's experiment in what one of its senior executives calls "downgrading"—an effort to make tellers available to customers who purchase banking products such as mutual funds and GICs, while posting signs indicating those who wish to conduct conventional banking transactions that they must use a bank machine or return during a designated peak period.

In addition, in response to what the bank says was customer demand, TD launched two "service centers" pilot projects in the Toronto area in mid-November. The fully staffed service centres are open 16 hours a day, seven days a week, month in, month out, four or five hours a night; however, branches have been downgraded to kiosks that provide tellers for two-hour periods, two days a week. Depend on feedback, these service centres could eventually stretch across the country.

While the banks may cut back locally, they are all looking for profitable niches around the globe. Royal bought an Atlanta-based internet bank last spring and throughout the fall acquired various private banks—such as the prestigious Chase's Islands banking operation that provides offshore financial services to blue bloods like the British Royal Family. Last week, it picked up a New York City-based brokerage called Bull & Bear Group Inc. as a base for building a one-of-a-kind discount brokerage arm. Royal plans to compete with Toronto Dominion subsidiaries Green Line and Waterhouse Investor Services, as well as among Charles Schwab & Co. Inc. of San Francisco. Consequently, Schwab, the industry leader in online brokerage, made its first foray into Canada last week with its purchase of two small Canadian investment dealers, Priority Brokerage and North

amer Securities, that Schwab plans to combine to create Charles Schwab Canada—a development that Canadian bankers seem on as further proof that their lens of being managed by big foreign players are coming true. The prospect that before long, competitors like Schwab will profit Canadian banks into merger agreements that will create a great deal more trouble for Ottawa than the ones Martin rejected this month. Federal ownership rules prevent any one party from holding more than 10 per cent of a chartered bank. Yet nothing but the finance minister's discretion stands between the banks and a merger with a widely held foreign entity like New York's Citigroup. Germany's Deutsche Bank AG, or ING Group of Holland, also has bankers promises a possible joint venture or other financial link between Scotiabank and Wells Fargo & Co. of San Francisco. "The lawyers have already worked out how to do this," the competition expert says. "You just move the legal headquarters to Canada. Can you see a U.S. company taking in from Paul Martin? They'll just take him to court until it's done."

In the meantime, as easy as five-out-of-four Canadian banks will be forced to grapple with the question of whether their internal shake-ups should start at the top. Starting next week, the banks will begin releasing their annual reports out with their information disclosure revealing assets and liabilities as of CIBC for the 12 months ended Oct. 31. For their services still thought to be worth the millions they receive? Time—and hard bargains scheduled at various times in early 1999—will tell. TD directors are happy with the leadership of chairman Charles Haffner and the way he steered the bank through the ups and downs of the proposed merger with CIBC. On the other hand, CIBC directors will be forced to renege their search to replace Al Flood when he retires, one that Haffner will be heading up a united TD-CIBC.

Bank of Montreal's Barrett was also on the board of directors in 1998, as was Gregor, who served as director in 1997. He, too, is now thought likely to leave the bank even sooner than he might have under the merger agreement—and perhaps not in the stylish manner he had envisioned.

Chairman is being pressed as the one to walk. Barrett and colleagues say they intend to remain with Royal directors might have expected him to do differently over the past year. "The directors approved it, and they knew all along it was not going to be a slam dunk," one says. However, sources close to the board say Canada's next powerful, successful and influential banker could be conspired to fight for his job in the months ahead.

WILLIAM GEDDIS in Ottawa and
NARAY JUNGAL in Toronto

Deirdre McMurdy



Hot planet, cold climate

In early September 1998 was two years crunched into one. In the first half, it was still possible to downplay the effects of the economic crisis in Asia and its ability to affect the rest of the global economy. Although commodity prices showed signs of weakening, Canada's economy seemed strong enough to withstand a series of interest rate increases. Corporate earnings bolstered the stock market, which in turn nourished consumer confidence.

But by the end of June, the landscape began to look bleak. The collapse of the Russian economy revealed how far Asia's economic rot had spread—and the ineffective action of the International Monetary Fund. The Canadian dollar came under acute pressure as investors fled to the security of

the American dollar. A protracted strike at General Motors took a large bite out of the North American economy. Trade tensions rose. Equity markets grumbled wildly. Even the weather turned tragic.

Despite—or perhaps because of—the uncertainty, corporations sought safety in size. This will be best remembered as the year of the megamerger. Many transactions were financed with stock swaps, which kept debt in check. But the deals also unsettled hundreds of thousands of workers worldwide and raised the spectre of renewed layoffs. By the close of 1998, having cost almost each loss by announcing the elimination of 80,000 jobs, following its troubled acquisition of rival McDonald Douglas.

There were other trends that also defined the past year. Among them:

Solidarity. Labour organizers showed signs of retooling last ground in 1998. They were not only successful in winning General Motors workers and criticism of the company's heavy-handed cost-cutting strategy, even in the business press. The Canadian Auto Workers union managed to certify its first McDonald's restaurant in Canada in Coquitlam, B.C., a significant strike in its push to organize younger workers in an increasingly volatile services sector.

The Emperor's New Clothes. Mutual fund investors whose holdings were rattled

by market turbulence began to question whether they were getting value for the fees they pay money managers. Why pay hefty fees if your returns fail to outperform the market in bad times? The answer to that question could rattle the fund industry.

Hedgehogs. Brierley Hall Prize-winning academics and their friends for policy options could not stop the implosion of Leontis Capital Management. The hedgehogs against hedge funds was not only one of their building. George (Ding) McFeller III, Agincourt, a hedge fund manager himself, confronted the capital markets that allowed him to make billions. The moral of the story? Hedge funds are not people can get buried in volatile markets.

Fed Up. In a time of economic uncertainty, capital markets cling to the hand of Federal Reserve Board chair, Alan Greenspan. His inscrutable calm, his mastery of the art of the deal, his reduction of U.S. interest rates bestowed new credibility on his office. Canada's central bank dutifully mirrored him, creating Greenspan's example. By year-end, Asian and European bankers were anxious with him.

A Bag's Life. Preying about the so-called Millennium Bug—and its impact on corporate computer systems—provided a bonanza for consultants. Lawyers are licking their chops over potential liability cases that will arise if computer chips crash on the day of the Y2K.

Slipping Up the Competition. Inevitably, the corporate push to merge and acquire in the face of competition can undo public mistrust of excessive business concentration. In Canada, bank mergers were quashed. In the United States, Bill Gates was taken to court over Microsoft's "anti-competitive" behaviour. And there were rumblings about the proposed merger at Exxon and Mobil.

An Economic Cold Front. Alongside the Asian crisis, the weather was the subject of choice. Everyone from Eaton's to the Big Three car companies blamed weak sales on the unseasonably warm weather. For oil and gas producers, it was another reason to cry foul and demand new "oil taxes."

There's always a new excuse in the winter, but in 1998, the weather was their enemies.



Peter C. Newman

When the banks lost, Canada lost, too

Paul Martin's decision to mix the bank mergers is one of these watershed moments that will, in terms of Canada's economic future, rank with such momentous historical turning points as the invention of the wheel, fire, silicon chips and hotel room service.

It certainly was politically correct. There was no way the leading candidate to succeed Jean Chretien (once the PM finally realizes he has become a satire of himself) could grant Canada's banks even more power than they already have. Basking in popularity somewhere between the neighbourhood doctor and the local tax collector alike, the Big Five banks deserved to lose.

Not because they had a poor case to make, but because they made it poorly. From the start of their campaign 11 months ago, the bank chairman treated Ottawa's politicians as a troublesome faction to be placated, instead of negotiating how to arrive at a politically acceptable deal. In the vital arena of public opinion, the bankers contributed the cardinal error of selling the solution to a problem without first selling the problem, that on their own they cannot remain competitive in a world market.

That happens to be the uncomfortable truth. Martin is dead wrong when he has accepted self-knowledge that he runs against the power of Canada's banks. In fact, they rank between 30th and 35th in the world. In mutual funds, the latest growth Canadian financial sector, the banks account for only one-quarter of sales.

While they appear huge and omnipotent on the Canadian landscape, the banks have, by Martin's harsh edict, been reduced to regional branch giant operations. As competitors in the trillion-dollar global playgrounds where the Big Boys cut the megadeals. The main reason the Royal Bank's John Claghorn, past man of the bankers' pro-merger crusade, failed to conquer the hearts of the Canadian people is that the image he presented obscured the kind of man he is. Sensitive, intelligent and contemporary in his thinking, Claghorn came across as a sensitive, sensitive Big Street banker, a broker-a-rental lobbyist on the heels of race for its own sake. He is much smarter than that, but he refused to believe that even though his cause was just, its implementation required a revolution in Canadians' thinking. He could not watch from being an advocate to becoming a revolutionary. He thus became a sort of Gorbachev without a horse. Indeed, the bank chairman believed in their case so strongly that two of them—Matt Barrett of the Bank of Montreal and Al Flood of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce—were willing to take the number 2 position if they were allowed to merge with their respective partners.

Despite the resultant advantages for playing on the international stage, the mergers would have been tough to implement. Unlike

most businesses that develop distinctive corporate cultures, banks operate more like clubs. Each institution has its own traditions and quirky agendas. The Royal, for example, takes great pride in having been "quick to the frontier" by establishing British Columbia branches in 1897 before venturing into Toronto from its original home base as the Merchants' Bank of Halifax. The Toronto Dominion has always expanded itself as the slightly rougher cut outsider—in the Big Bankers' club, but not of it. Scotiabank's recent priorities have taken it so deeply into Latin American finance that its chairman, Peter Gossio, once told me his successor would have to be bilingual—in English and Spanish.

The banks' case was badly weakened by the fact that near the end of their campaign they reported 1997 net profits of \$7.5 billion, setting new Canadian earnings records at the very time they were pleading that only by merging could they become competitive. The explanation is simply that short-term profits say nothing about long-term prospects. But does matter. So many American banks have been merging that five years ago the gap in market capitalization between our largest bank, the Royal, and the average of the top 15 U.S. banks has widened to \$23 billion from less than \$3 billion. "As the global drive for consolidation gathers momentum," Claghorn told me before Martin checked off his plans, "huge, low-cost synergies, cutting their economies of scale and expertise developed in their home markets, are entering Canada, cherry-picking profitable niches. They're taking this business away from our Canadian bank branches, one place at a time. And they're not making nearly the same investment in Canada that we do."

That's the cardinal point. By opting to let Canadian banks at their present size, the finance minister has gambled on their ability to survive in a constantly narrowing environment. It was no coincidence that the very day the mergers were quashed, Charles Schwab Corp., a U.S. discount broker with 5.4 million active customer accounts worth \$710 billion, moved north by grabbing Bay Street houses Penhance Securities Inc., a full-service brokerage, and its discount arm, Priority Brokerage Inc. That will eat deep into the TD's Green Bay Investor Service. Other competitors that will now launch frontal assaults on Canada's banks include ING Direct, a Dutch-owned virtual reality financial institution with no conventional branches in Canada, which is more than twice as large as any of our banks. Other rapid growing competitors are such forward-looking enterprises as Toronto's Newcent Credit Group Inc., which sells and manages loans and is attracting a growing slice of what was traditionally banking business.

The day Paul Martin scuttled the banks' merger dreams may turn out to be the beginning of the deconstruction of Canada's banking system.

Paul Martin's harsh edict has reduced our banks to minor spectators in the trillion-dollar global playground

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It was a year when small events developed unexpected power, from Bill Clinton's dalliance to the fury of the weather

FROM TINY BEGINNINGS

Sometimes the most momentous events spring from anonymous beginnings. Eastern Canada's January ice storm began as a rain that fell from an unseasonably warm water night—and presaged a year of weird, often devastating weather. The summer's economic show started as mere ripples from seemingly far off Asian economies. Even the year end drive to impeach Bill Clinton revved from a national, closed-door level of enthusiasm.

Canada was also touched by a scandal that grew when women Mike Dawson revealed the secret status of rape in the valley that 1896's most enduring tragedy for Canadians may be at times the grief of the families of victims of Soudan Flight 111 at Pigeon Cove, N.S., and the wrenching anguish of the Trudeau family as they mourned a son and brother.

Yet the master of Mike Trudeau's death—except by an unlikely one—a global idea—was a poignant reminder that those who live by a fearless spirit for adventure will hug the imagination. Without the fascination over the return to space of genetically American astro-



Clinton would be to reveal his denial of sexual relations with Monica Lewinsky, delivered in front of wife Hillary

Northern Ireland and Israel clash personally to kill, while Los Angeles' Southern Hawaiian remained definitely unopposed. In all, 1998 will hardly be remembered among the century's extraordinary years as Boris Yeltsin came down, as revolutions were launched. Unless, of course, we some day end up looking back at 1998, wondering how we could have missed these first glimpses of the seismic events that were to come.

—BRUCE WALLACE



Reminders of Ray West, Fla., Red River/Gorge Georgia; Viagra offered potency in a pill; Thomson spoke out about rape; Sordani killed parents

SEA OF TEARS

The world grieved for the 229 people who died in the crash of Swissair Flight 111

Perhaps it was the jarring incongruity between the watercolour hues of Peggy's Cove and a sweetness of the awful carnage lurking below the water's surface that made the crash of Swissair Flight 111 so disturbing. The Geneva-bound plane landed into the Atlantic waters off Nova Scotia on Sept. 2, killing everyone aboard. Rescuers from nearby coastal communities set out in boats to assist in the macabre retrieval of the victims' body parts and, over the next days, embroiled grieving relatives who arrived to mourn. Some said they found comfort in the beauty of the spot where their loved ones died.

The year also brought relief for some—though not all—Canadians who contracted hepatitis C from tainted blood transfusions. Those infected before 1990—who a screening test became available—got nothing and their plight made the Liberal government seem heartless. Prime Minister Jean Chretien also took a political beating over his role in the security arrangements for the 1997 Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation summit in Vancouver. And Ottawa sensed trepidation in the dollar tumbled to record lows over the summer and if Asian economic winds brought a whiff of recession, especially in British Columbia.

But by the end of the year, Canadian politics settled into a familiar pattern. Predictions of a titanic clash between Jean Chretien and Lucien Bouchard over Quebec's place in Canada never quite materialized. Ontario and the provinces continued wrangling over power and cash. The biggest upheaval came in the newspaper business, where Conrad Black launched the National Post and Quebecor Inc. bought The Toronto Star for the Sun Media Corp. chain. In sports, there was one less icon as diagnosed hockey martyr Alvin Eagleson was jacked off to jail. The Eagle got 18 months for fraud and theft, and though he was out in jail, he was disbarred as a lawyer and stripped of his Order of Canada.

Viewers flocked to Peggy Cove, throwing flowers into the water or just gazing at the scene



PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY LAWRENCE



With the streets of Kingston, Ont., looking like a war zone (right), many families were forced to hone their survival skills.

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DEEP FREEZE

Mother Nature wreaked havoc in Quebec, eastern Ontario and Atlantic Canada, leaving millions without power and causing \$2 billion in damage

'It's incredible, the hell that we're going through'

—Restaurant owner Fritta Lehoucq
of St-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Que.



POWER STRUGGLES

The nature of Canada's democracy came under scrutiny on the political stage—and on the streets of Vancouver

'I never had the same satisfaction after closing a business deal that I got from my days in public service. I'm a public-sector person.'

—Joe Clark, shortly before winning the federal Progressive Conservative leadership in Nov. 20



Clark, with daughter Catherine and wife Maureen McTee, re-emerged as the leader of the federal Tories; the controversy over security at the 1987 AFPC summit in Vancouver culminated in hell over as protesters looked out (left) during a visit there by the Prime Minister; Quebec Premier Jacques Bossert (right) won the provincial election, even though voters seemed to squelch his dreams of an early sovereignty referendum



MOURNING MICHEL

Pierre Trudeau and ex-wife Margaret left a Montreal memorial service with surviving sons Justin, 24, and Josée, 26 (far right), a week after an avalanche killed their brother Michel, 23.

The country shares a former prime minister's grief

A MOTHER'S TRIBUTE

My darling young man, your body lies in the deep pure water of a mountain's glorious lake. Mommy knows that your beautiful spirit soars above the clouds like a young raven in paradise. In 1976, your father Pierre was ceremoniously made an honorary Haida Indian chief. After, the chief said: a Haida chief cannot be married to a woman out of the tribe, and therefore I make you, Margaret, a sister of the raven and your three sons children of the raven. You grew into a fine young man. You dedicated your youthful pursuits to discover the deep link between nature and spirit; you devoted your soul to the legends of the Haida. The raven is a transformer, a trickster, the first to bring light to the world, immortal. But most importantly, ravens are the presence of pure, creative, transformative energy. Your death, my darling son, was like your life. In life you were always eager for the next adventure, twirling around the bend. The day before your spirit left your body, you had an asthma, physically extreme day. Did you call out to mommy as the avalanche swept you into the icy cold, deep lake? I think so. Many brave men tried to find your body, sweetheart. But you eluded your technologically equipped rescuers. You chose to remain hidden in the dark and secret place that God has created for you. You will forever be a mountain man, you will forever be a raven. I love you more than words can tell, for ever and ever and ever.

—Margaret Trudeau Koppes, from a eulogy to her son

THE TRUDEAUS

**'I did not
have sexual
relations with
that woman—
Miss Lewinsky'**

—Bill Clinton, Jan. 12



Starr was surrounded by media as he began his own probe; Clinton and Lewinsky (left) saw each other at a function in October, 1996

THE WEIGHT OF DECEIT

*Clinton's war with special prosecutor
Ken Starr paralyzed American politics*

Global events were dominated by the most basic elements of human life: sex, money, war—and the weather. The extraordinarily detailed investigation of Bill Clinton's Oval Office dalliance with intern Monica Lewinsky dominated Americans—and much of the world—for much of the year. It seemed the only issue people were not talking—or joking—about. Clinton and Lewinsky were when the world trembled on the edge of a financial meltdown that roared out of southeast Asia, forced Indonesian strongman Suharto from power, engulfed Russia and threatened Latin America. Relief sighed when the financial carriage stopped short of Wall Street, although some seem predicted renewed emerging market eruptions in 1998.

Too many massacres lost their lives amid military struggles. More than 1,000 villagers died in Kosovo as Serbian forces conducted a scorched-earth campaign against ethnic Albanian separatists. Serbia's civil war caused widespread starvation, while more people died in Congo as rebels fought President Laurent Kabila. But peace loomed for some. The warring nations of Northern Ireland approved a historic peace agreement, while Israel and the Palestinians made a tense accommodation after talks next to Maryland's graceful Mye River.

If one issue eclipsed Lewinsky's derelict notoriety it was El Niño, the warm-weather phenomenon that triggered the horrors of Hurricane Mitch in Central America, deadly storms in Florida, and devastating floods in China. In Canada, though, notoriety's name was Albert Whelan, the man who received a life sentence for murder in England. And the year's most positive achievement? Perhaps it was the Pope's visit to Cuba, which led Fidel Castro to restore Christmas as a permitted holiday.



'Where is America? Where is Europe? You are sleeping!'

—Demonstrator in Pristina, Kosovo's capital

A Jakarta policeman (right) attacked a protester during a week of anti-Suharto violence that left 1,200 dead; an ethnic Albanian mother mourned her son, killed by a body bag shortly after a ceasefire began in Kosovo



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TIMES OF ANGUISH

Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo failed to get NATO's help against Serbia, but Indonesians toppled dictator Suharto after seven days in May



'Liberation . . . reaches its fullness in the exercise of freedom of conscience'

—Pope John Paul II, in Mexico



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HELL AND HEAVEN



In a year of horror—including Hurricane Mitch, the U.S. Embassy bombings and tragedy in Northern Ireland—the Pope shone a light in Cuba

The murder of three boys, accused by father John Billie, galvanized support for Northern Ireland's peace agreement

Hurricane Mitch tore through Tegucigalpa (above), capital of Honduras, and killed 11,000 in Central America. The Pope met Fidel Castro during the pontiff's historic first visit to communist Cuba; rescues in Nairobi, Kenya, stopped by jail victims from the rubble of the U.S. embassy



NAGANO GOLD

Canada had its best Winter Olympics ever, winning six golds despite a flap over a snowboarder's relationship with marijuana

'It has been quite a ride'

—Snowboarder Ross Whitely

Whitely lost his medal over traces of pot in his system, then got it back. Calzavara & May dominated speed skating (seen)





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At 77, senator and 1962 astronaut Glenn (center) boarded the space shuttle to become the oldest person in space; the flamboyant Coors was sentenced to jail for having an affair with the accused while a juror at his trial (below)

BREAKING AWAY

Personalities as diverse as John Glenn, Mark McGwire and a hitherto unknown single mother named Gillian Guess found ways glorious and notorious to push the envelope. Even Prince Charles did a not-full Monty



'I'm the king of the world! Whoo!'

—Titanic's James Cameron, receiving the best-director Oscar

Prince Charles (left) Full Monty actor Hugo Speyer for a clothed rendition; Canadian Coors (right center), flanked by Titanic stars Kate Winslet and Leonardo DiCaprio, celebrated a Golden Globe before the film topped 11 Oscars; McGwire wheeled No. 62, joyfully beating Roger Maris's 1961 home-run record (below)



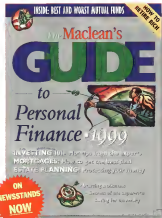


The Spice Girls lead a bit of bang when Ginger Spice—Geri Halliwell (second from left above)—goes to follow a solo career and becomes, among other things, a goodwill representative for the UN Population Fund. Jerry Seinfeld said good-bye on Jay Leno's show to the ladies of Brinkfeld from right: Comedian's Sheila Treado, now history's top-selling female country singer, stepped out with her first North American tour



'If I get off now, I have a chance at a standing ovation. That's what you go for.'

—Comedian Jerry Seinfeld



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HAIL AND FAREWELL

From Sinatra to W.O. Mitchell, a global roll of sad losses

W.O. MITCHELL, 83, venerable Prairie writer and broadcaster, best known for the novel *Who Was Seen the Wind*

ELA REID, 78, internationally renowned West Coast music artist

DR. BENJAMIN SPIRO, 94, author of the parents' bible, *Kelly and Chris Care*

TAMMY WHYTE, 55, country singer (*Saved By Your Hand*)

HARRY GOLDWATER, 99, arch-conservative former Kansas senator and 1964 Republican presidential candidate

GEORGE WALLACE, 79, segregationist former governor of Alabama and 1968 independent presidential candidate

LYDD BRIDGES, 85, veteran actor in *Twelve Men* and *Twelve Women*

ROY ROGERS, 86, 1950s TV cowboy icon

GENE AUTRY, 91, cowboy singer (*Back in the Saddle Again*) and actor

DELLA ROZIG, 77, outspoken former U.S. congresswoman

JOHN BASSSETT, 82, broadcasting magnate and onetime co-owner of the now-closed Toronto *Star*

JACK SHADROFF, 69, Vancouver-based painter

DAVID WALSH, 52, founder and CEO of defunct *Star* & *Maxwell Ltd.*

BRIAN JACKSON, 60, island-minded former chief justice of the Supreme Court of Canada

HICK AUF DER MAUR, 66, Montreal newspaper columnist and former city councillor

ERIC MALLING, 52, television personality for CBC's the *rich* and *TV's* *95* with *Eric Malling*

FLORENCE GRIFITH JOYNER, 56, top 40 female pop singer in the 1980s (*Obsession*)

LINDA MCCARTNEY, 56, photographer and musician wife of *Beat* & *Paul McCartney*

CARL WILSON, 50, guitarist and singer for *The Beach Boys*

MAUREEN O'SULLIVAN, 87, played Jane in the 1950s *Texas* movie series

PERRY MCDOWELL, 70, star space child (*Star* & *Donna*)

ROBERT YOUNG, 91, TV star of *Father Knows Best* and *Married With*, M.D.

HERBY YOUNGMAN, 91, comic known as king of the *Amateurs*

FLIP WILSON, 64, comedian who cross-dressed as wife *"Gwendolyn"*

WYOMIE KOENIGS, 79, choreographer (*West Side Story*)

OSCARO PIZ, 84, Mexican Nobel Prize winner for literature (1992)

AKIRA KUROSAWA, 88, Oscar-winning Japanese film-maker

TED HUGHES, 68, British poet awarded by 1993 *Poet* of his *excellent* *poet* *Sylvia Plath*

POL POT, 73, blood-soaked ruler of Cambodia from 1975 to 1979

JAMES EARL RAY, 70, convicted killer of black civil rights leader Martin Luther King

ALAN SHEPHERD, 74, first American in space (1967)

DON KANE, 83, creator of *Salmon*



FRANK SINATRA, 82
The combination of sensitive crooner and tough-guy ways made him an American icon.



SAMMI DAVIS, 85
She created the beloved puppet Lamb Chop, changing children's entertainment.



PHIL HARTMAN, 48
Killed by wife Rayne (left), the Canadian-born comedian was a master of mimicry.



SONNY BONO, 62
The Republican congressman built a posthumous career on his fame from the 1960s singing duo Sonny and Cher.



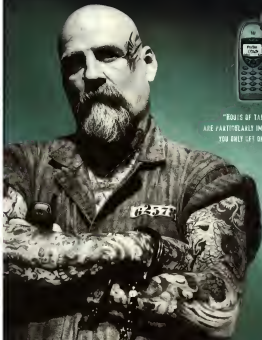
JOYCE WIELAND, 66
As a leading painter, filmmaker and quilt-maker, she shook up Canadian art.

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SEARCHING FOR PURPOSE

Spiritualism is on the rise as baby boomers seek meaning and direction in their lives

Baby boomers—the 8.1 million Canadians born between 1946 and 1964—are the best educated, most prosperous and pampered generation in history. As they move through their middle years, however, many boomers are discovering that something is missing. Increasingly, they are looking for deeper satisfaction, greater satisfaction and new direction in life. As this essay, Carleton University political scientist and philosopher Peter C. Emberley writes of the search for spiritual purpose, work of it occurring outside mainstream religion. A baby boomer himself, Emberley, 42, is also director of Carleton's College of the Management in Ottawa.



BY PETER C. EMBERLEY

“What we really need today is a spiritual version of an aphrodisiac,” craves a devotee at Baba Hari Dass’s ashrams. Years centre on Sukasingh Island. She is talking about a herbal purgative, and explaining why she is enduring yet another round of one of yoga’s excruciatingly uncomfortable

contortions. “There’s a lot that has to be scraped off our systems,” she explains. There, during the next few days that she is a best-selling author and accomplished consultant, yet despite prosperity, affluence and all the conventional signs of success, she turns out to be a very unhappy person, profoundly alienated from the world and seeking. In Banffshire, Ontario.

• A farmhouse in Ontario. A candle hangs at the centre of a tablecloth also draped with an embroidered tablecloth. Surrounding it are crystals, gems, leather pouches, a leather knife, tiny ivory skulls. Each item has been placed to enable the four cardinal directions, each representing, in turn, the four elements and the four humours of the body. We sit in contemplative silence, trying to expand our awareness and work with our own spirit guides to achieve “synchronicity.” The hostess explains that during her own dark night of the soul she realized that the human world was two and a half floors, the result of confusion of drastically constricting the range of human experience. Now, “we have to ground our energy in the earth and open our crown chakra to the universe,” to reach “being where we are.” And she, too, seeks in Shinto and Kiko. The boomers po-

tential movement. Celtic spirituality. Goddess worship. Wicca. Astrotypes.

• The bell tolls loud and long at St. Ignace of Alaska, the English-speaking Orthodox church in Edmonton filled with converts and the curious. Soon, incense-filled but sublime plain chant fills the room, and the priests begin their transmutation, their silver crosses reflecting ribbons of light and sanctifying it in sacred space. The 96-minute liturgy comes a lot of experiential ground—divinity and communion to longitudes, cosmology and love—uniting tradition and paganism and re-creating the wonder of creation infused with grace. “After centuries of beating the image out of religion, we are looking again for a life-enhancement,” says a sometime parishioner. And so too, seeks. In the United Church’s community of concern. The Anglican Church’s province-wide society. Anglo-Catholics. In Ojas Dei and Trinitarian Catholicism.

These seekers, each searching for spirit in contemplation and meditation. Where none of these four baby boomers as seeking, however, is in the mainstream. And they are not alone. For many of the baby boomer generation, “spirituality” is not happening in the churches, synagogues, mosques or temples. Canada’s premier chronicler of religious belief and affiliation, Reginald Bibbel, offers inconceivable data on the decline of membership and weekly attendance in the mainline faiths. In 1943, 80 per cent of Canadians claimed weekly attendance and 83 per cent claimed membership; in 1990, only 23 per cent attended regularly and 29 per cent claimed to be members.

While many baby boomers are unfettered



There is a growing interest in spirituality. In this illustration, St. Michael's Cathedral in Ottawa is shown.

about the richness and diversity of their own religious traditions, their plans and beliefs are often unorthodox. Many boomers have no further patience for a patriarchal church that excludes women, at best. Sexual abuse is commonplace by some churches, historical injustices perpetrated by the churches on our aboriginals, unwillingness to accommodate progressive forces—all have threatened the attraction of institutionalized religion. “In church, it’s all just yada, yada, yada,” says a leper. United Church pastor says. “We were no longer moved and touched by wooden rituals,” claim Jewish and Catholic Canadians at an seminar in the Haskins. With their eclectic views, by contrast, “we’re looking to revelation, to live scripture.” Charismatic Christians, Lutheran revivalists, Baptists and New Age shamans all testify to the spiritual adage—the letter killeth, but the spirit quickeneth. We hear in this chaotic, perhaps, the death knell of 20th-century religion, institutions no longer vital with the spirit that en-gendered them.

But it is premature to herald the “death of God.” Today, thousands of Canadians are embarking on complex spiritual searches. While increasingly they may not attend church, 60 per cent of baby boomers, according to Bibbel, say “spirituality” is important to them. Very few baby boomers admit they are “religious.” They say they are “spiritual,” a signal that they are distancing themselves from the authority of creed, dogmatic theology and institution, in favour of a new-exclusion God.

How often now of books on spirituality like our boomers’ lives in a Hindu temple. Canada’s “50s take on the beloved White Earth” publishes of the 1960s and 1970s, monthly publications in most urban centres advertise a dizzying array of pilgrimages, spiritual laboratories and wellness retreats, and television divines prophetic with reports of new earth, esoteric, special powers and angelic visitations—even the new craze of “astrality” in the workplace.

There are also more subtle signs that another “great awakening” is occurring. Across the country, ordinary Christians, Muslims, Jews and Hindus meet weekly in private homes to study their sacred texts. On weekends, dozens of groups meet in empty convents and churches, participating in Alpha and Carle retreats, spiritual direction, meditation—some in tears, but also, amid peals of laughter, experiencing the transformative power of love and belonging.

Why the renewed interest in the sacred? An obvious reason is that the baby boomers, whose mean age is 43, are brooding on their mortality. These boomers—subjects of so much paragonage—are now showing the signs of aging. Many baby boomers for the first time are facing frailty and vulnerability. Equally likely, with sick and dying parents, teenage children needing moral guidance, ugly custody battles, and careers and family in sudden stasis

Essays on the MILLENNIUM

delighted letters due to severances and "restructuring." Many baby boomers are finally confronting primary questions of existence. What is? What can I truly strive for? What is the legacy I leave for the next generation? They are struggling at mid-life to achieve order and meaning in their lives.

An increasing number now recognize that they are asked but not called, and are calling the modern project of autonomy and growth, and the collective destiny of progress, into question. An Edmonton computer programmer, who is taking a New Age pilgrimage called *A Course in Miracles*, acknowledges "the greatest anxiety is to believe that the world can be managed, controlled and manipulated to avoid suffering." An architect in Ottawa admits that when various planes hit his own family, he realized that years of technical adeptness and confidence in human progress had done nothing to prepare him for the reality of deep, aching pain and loss. In opposition to the downward drift of artifacts in modern life (see "Artifacts"), baby boomers are seeking around causes of sacred tools and artifacts—crystals, oils, smudge pots, dream catchers, pipes, amulets—in stores like Vancouver's *Bayan Books* or Toronto's *Ocean Centre*. Their actions betray a genuine hope for an enchanted recovery of meaning embedded in things—materialities for old times, but in effect out of a genuine desire to experience being part of a greater whole.

Each generation, inevitably, will bring its own cultural baggage to bear on the perennial search for the sacred. Baby boomers, facing rising hurdles to experiencing their hidden yearnings through the "Woo" counterculture. For the generation wrought on positive thinking and the inherent goodness of all human potential, the old theological language of sacrifice, dual goals, guilt and sin is a problem. So are doctrinal and creedal authority—extensions of a religion that is censorious, judgemental and restrictive, outgassing awe and joy. Baby boomers, schooling, after all, dwell on creativity and originality. For some baby boomers, "God" has to be believed in to mean the human aspiration to attain a higher consciousness, or the desire to realize one's full potential. Baby boomers also struggle with the fabled religion of religion to scientific reason—how to reconcile the apparent contradictions of modern skepticism and ancient mystery, laboratory experiment and psychic experience, individual autonomy and cosmic participation. Nevertheless, many are having epiphanies or life-shaping experiences that they know are neither scientific illusion (Freud) nor a quack (Murdock), which have made them receptive to faith, perhaps even to the point of credulity.

How would one characterize the baby boomer's spiritual search? One answer is that some want something "more," while others want something "less." Those who want "more" are trying to add an enrichment to what they already have, seeking that to believe they have found what modern science falsely dismisses as unreal, and that even moral or ethical experience cannot replace. Looking for "more" starts in faith with St. Bernadette's "made me" for the lady or the ladder of ascent, which connects human pleasure in the simple goodness of life in the active presence and good-



Some try to overcome the 'ecstasy deficit'

that every woman is entitled to an orgasm—were the "Woo" counterculture. For the tribulation of the life of the mystic saint Hildegard of Bingen characterizes her own search.

Among those baby boomers whose search is for something less, "the answer" has to be simpler and away from the noise and fullness of the world. The attraction of Buddhism, the Indian Vedas and mysticism lies in recognizing that vast pockets of human wilderness exist from which the world, as we know it, is being and sustained by illusion. Instead of seeking, these baby boomers want to let go, seeking "space."

For those pursuing "less," the new strain of pantheism that runs through some of the baby boomers' searches can take the severe route of liberating itself from the world and worldliness. It may begin with asceticism to the body—a body that was over-indulged, abused and indulged—and is now seen as an impediment to enlightenment. It may take the form of turning away from thought and speech, as when a yoga instructor in Vancouver tells her students they have to cease the vicious chatter, the mindless dialogue of the mind with itself, and "bring in silence makes it safe to be together." It is there when "oneness," glossolalia (speaking in tongues) and expressive gesture replace human conversation.

Whether the search is for "more" or "less," two common themes emerge: One is the belief that spirituality is primarily a turning inward to a wisdom秘秘 deep in their inner being. It may take the form of seeking the primitive—the inner child or baby spirit, or a return to the early life of the church. Hoping for a truth the world has missed, they look to a charismatic minister, messiah, shaman or

Believers in the hell of a new age
Yoga in Hawaii, a New Age
happening in Canada help a
personal search for the sacred

ness of God throughout creation. Inevitably, some of this search takes the form of escapism, fleeing. In some cases, baby boomers simply carry over the same cravings and expectations of modern life, by seeking in spirituality the next fix to overcome stress. By turning to the sacred, some are still trying to overcome what sacred texts have termed the "ecstasy deficit." Growing up believing themselves entitled to peak experiences—through Dr. Spock's gentle child care, Adam Smith's "self-actualization" or Dr. J. P. Ser's promise of an orgasm—some baby boomers have internalized the "ecstasy deficit."

hinder; these baby boomers search for a new revelation, a new creation, known only to themselves or the initiated few.

The second change is that the all "great awakenings" there is a "great retreat." For baby boomers, world-alienation takes the form of deep cynicism about everyday life, work and institutions, politics and community. "It's the old, old war out there," says a charismatic Christian at the 1988 Billy Graham Mission in Ottawa, in the wake of a rousing hymn about being a "warrior of the ages." "We are in a desperate trap of our own making," preaches a Catholic priest. There is a growing debate from the world, ranging from "only a God can save us," to globality about moral powers, spiritualities and miracles. While much of the contemporary world was made in their image, there is a creeping homelessness among boomers.

It may be in the nature of religion to be outside of, even against, the world—a common-sense, unaccompanied truth. A sense of the fullness of the world is often a pre-condition for spiritual awakening. But in recognizing family, work and community as indices of meaning to human action, such trends may also stimulate historical and present religious and spiritual calls. As we invent the world, the spiritualists we should expect a proliferation of these errors.

One implication of these trends, in images where all concepts are melting into this air, is an increase in "idleness"—the will to be less-meaningful anything, even the most internal, or perhaps in believing nothing at all. Prodigal sons, irresponsible fathers and mothers, reckless emotional pandering, as violations of the Holy Spirit, venerable, white-haired, beard-striking gurus straight from central casting, flout appeals to our wounded, dysfunctional selves—the new messiah baby boomers to credulously accept the Rapture and Second Coming, to recognize themselves as the faithful remnant, and escape the unspeakable in a new "post-ecstasy" religiosity.

Nevertheless, however easy or fashionable it may be to be cynical about the baby boomers' spiritual searches, the reality is that many of them are simply looking for a little grace and an opportunity to express indebtedness, fidelity and reverence. There is a fervent conviction in this country and its church will emerge enriched by their renewed spirituality.

In the light of the baby boomers' spiritual searches, there are three challenges ahead for us in the new millennium.

The first challenge deals with a process already underway—the attempt to restore a sense of community, against the tide of alienation that the world jangled by voices of consumers seeking satisfaction in the market, connecting transiently for reciprocal advantage. The renewal of community, however, needs more than political will. It

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needs a source that replenishes and quickens staying power. And since counteracting vices arises during monotony and weariness, one victim also needs the countervailing sense of humanity. The answer in both cases is openness to the transcendent.

A vivid testimony to the need to reconnect spiritually and intellectually lies in the many church pews, particularly in those faiths that brought heavily into the modern processes of liberalization, and whose leaders came to understand clearly primarily as succouring the oppressed, wounded, forlorn and abandoned. To be sure, the greatest test of faith may come when the life of the agent meets the afflictions of the flesh. And for thousands of Canadians, there could be no hope were it not for the shelters, food banks and missions sponsored by the churches. Edmonton's Master Seed, Toronto's Yonge Street Mission, Brantford's MFW prison project offer poignant illustrations of true faith at work. But service disconnected from mystery—the awareness experience of the infinite and the holy—soon withers and dies. The suffering to which the liberal churches so valiantly minister may be a signal of a deeper, darker affliction that only the awareness mystery of transcendence can cure.

The successful alchemist lies on the other side of the equation. For baby boomers who have "done the alchemy," the question is how to exactly live one's life through the public organization of spiritual order. Religion has nearly all ways been an anodyne to mortality and world weariness. Scripture calls the faithful to be salt, light and trustworthy metaphors involving the role of faith in the world. There are, in my estimation, preferable to the more banal-listed or trivially acceptable of acolytes, unambiguously authentic.

The third challenge is perhaps the greatest of all—that is, that in churches and in intellectual life. Many scientists are encouraged to believe that faith is opposed to reason, as the latter is to the mind. In the wake of the profound re-examination of modern science characterizing this decade, we need to reconfigure a more nuanced relationship between faith and reason. A new synthesis of faith and reason would be a corrective to two dangerous tendencies of our time: technological poverty without humanity, and credulity and sentimentalism towards the supernatural.

Some philosophers are talking a great deal again about the nature of happiness, saying the Greeks had it right in their noble images of heroic strength killed in selfless glory and exultation in achievement. But perhaps happiness as striving is not the best or end-all. The genuine test of happiness, as G.K. Chesterton once pointed out, is gratitude. Maybe when we are all searching for it is a little easier. □

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People

Edited by
TANYA EASTES

The many facets of a Jewel

Folk singer Jewel Kitcher could never be called idle. The Alaska-raised singer-songwriter, known simply by her first name, sold 10 million copies of her 2000 debut album, *Pieces Of You*, and released her second CD, *Spider*, last month. But the 28-year-old multi-talented artist, so she decided to try her hand at poetry, saying just yesterday "I don't feel alone if I'm repeating something I'm good at," says Jewel, who now lives in San Diego. "So I'm always looking for new challenges."

One challenge was a collection of short poems, *A Night Without Armor* (HarperCollins), which was published in May, went into 15 printings and landed on *The New York Times* best-seller list for 11 weeks. Jewel has also made her screen debut: a lead role in the drama *Side Walk*. *The Dent*, directed by Oscar-nominated Ang Lee, which will be released next fall. And in her January, Jewel will launch a nonprofit organization she created, called Higher Ground For Humanity. "People gave me money so I could get food when I was hungry," says Jewel, referring to the last years before she became famous, when at one point she was living in a car. "So now I want to help other people." Next, Jewel plans on writing a second book of prose while on a world tour. She offers a simple explanation for her whirlwind lifestyle: "I got bored very easily."



The artist "I just feel alive if I'm repeating something"

A force on and off the stage

For the first time in her life, Martha Marsten is working behind a desk. The 35-year-old actress and director has been on the stage since she was 15, but when she was appointed artistic director of English theatre at Ottawa's National Arts Centre last year, her work environment changed dramatically. "When the NAC first approached me I was saying, 'No, I only belong in a rehearsal hall,'" says Marsten. "And then I thought, 'If I'm ever to do it, it's now.'"

Marsten is one of the few theatre actresses to move successfully from acting to directing to the directorship of a major theatre. Based in Minneapolis, she first experienced the limelight when she was cast as the lead in her high-school production of *The Diary of Anne Frank*. "I knew then that

there was no turning back," Marsten says. She studied drama at university and, three weeks shy of her degree, dropped out and started acting professionally. In 1980, she moved to Vancouver to pursue American involvement in Vietnam, resulting in a lifetime feud before being cast in a play. Five years later, she was named by the Stratford Festival, where she spent 14 seasons acting and directing before moving to the Shaw Festival.

And then the NAC came calling. "I started to think that while it's marvelous to be involved, I'm at the mercy of other people," says Marsten, who is divorced. "And I thought it would be lovely to have some part in the decision-making." Besides her administrative work, she is keeping in touch with the stage by personally directing some plays, including an adaptation of Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden*, running at the NAC until Jan. 3. "I will fight to the death," she says, laughing, "for the artistic part of my job."



Marsten, the National Arts Centre's first artistic director, never stops



Olympic scandal

Did bribes influence the selection of sites?

Did Pound didn't need the extra work. Last week, the Montreal law firm who was Canada's highest-ranking member on the International Olympic Committee was asked to investigate allegations of corruption within the organization. Supporters said some IOC members had accepted "bribe" money in the form of university scholarships and free medical care for relatives, among other things—as rewards for supporting Salt Lake City's bid to host the 2002 Winter Games. Marc Hodier, a senior Swiss Olympic official, also alleged that agents had "bought" blocks of votes in agencies of Canada in Alaska, Nagano, Japan, and Sydney, Australia. To clear up the worst scandal in the organization's 104-year history, IOC president Juan Antonio Samaranch called on the 56-year-old Pound, who handles TV rights negotiations for the IOC. "It's not something I welcome personally, but it's something I welcome for the organization," he said of his new task after returning to Montreal from IOC offices in Lausanne, Switzerland. "We finally have the sporting game, and we can go after these guys."

"These guys" may not go quickly. Hodier says graft is a normal means of doing business for a handful of delegates, who pocket their gains in the bid-selection process for personal gain. Pound and the four other board members on the investigating committee—from Senegal, Hungary, Germany and Belgium—have summoned Salt Lake's records to see if

credit card receipts, cancelled checks and correspondence can trace how a \$750,000 "humanitarian aid" fund was disbursed, and to whom. Pound said he expects to lose the documents as fast as he can before Christmas. But already, reports from Utah suggest as many as six relatives of IOC members, including the daughter of the late Rene Bonanza, a delegate from Cameroon, had received college scholarships, jobs and other benefits. Hodier blasted the illicit deals as agencies who acted as liasons between delegates and bid committees. But Pound said his investigation would concentrate on unmasking the IOC members and bid cities who willfully made the deals. "The agents bring us a lot of trouble," Pound said. "If you don't have any clients, you don't have any agents."

Corruption is hardly new to the Olympics. The first recorded Games cheat was a man named Epaphroditus of Thessaly, who bribed three horses to take defeat in a 368 BC. More recently, performance-enhancing drugs, cronyism and cheating have plagued the Olympics at some senior IOC members—the 78-year-old Samaranch's assistant on being called "your excellency"—have failed pub-

lic stations in Park City, Utah—\$750,000 in "humanitarian aid"

lic stations that the Games could ever live up to their ideals. Jean Cochet, an official of the International Skiing Union who led Quebec City's bid for the 2002 Games, said he and other acquaintances turned down agents offering to deliver blocks of votes for a price. "I remember wandering at the time if I were a little naive, playing by the rules of the game," he said. "I guess we were."

Defenders say that only a small percentage of IOC members sell their votes, and those who have worked as IOC committees say the policies against such behavior are clearly defined. Mark Tewksbury, Canada's 1992 gold medal swimmer, was on the 15-member vote-end which recommended that in 1986 reviewed all 11 candidate cities vying for the 2004 Summer Games. He said hosts gave their small gifts—expensive watches, local crafts and so on—but nothing extravagant. "Everyone knew the rules and we were very strict," Tewksbury says, adding, "I was impressed with the process."

But the IOC members, he said, should be taken from the bid IOC membership and given to the 11-member board, which he suggested would ensure that cities are chosen on merit. Paul Henderson, who led the 1998 Toronto bid, says candidates called for reforms for years. But recently he says the payoff is that world's action was unnecessary. "Salt Lake was a slam dunk—it was going to win anyway," Henderson says. "They didn't need to do any of this."

Pound does not dispute the likelihood that vote buying schemes played other Games bids, but for now he is focusing solely on Salt Lake City. "We go fishing in several ponds, we are likely to keep finding the same fish," he says. But Pound, who frequently served as a potential heir to Samaranch's throne, known that a major scandal could harm his support from countries whose delegates are exposed as corrupt. "It's not the personal price I have to pay to get this done, that's not it," he says matter-of-factly. "But I think the over-arching majority of IOC members want to see this cleaned up."



Pound: We finally have the sporting game.

JAMES DEACON



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Big Bear's pacifist roar

BY BRIAN BERGMAN

The buffalo are gone, and the once-proud Plains Cree are reduced to hunting rabbits or to subsisting during the harsh winter months in a dirt all-male and male. Big Bear, who alone among prairie chiefs resisted signing a treaty with the Canadian government, goes to the Hudson's Bay Co. doctor to plead for help. The doctor is sympathetic, but wonders why Big Bear does not simply take up the government's offer to move his people onto a reservation in exchange for food. "It has always been a poor choice," comes the plain response. "To hold out and starve—or eat and be cheated."

The scene, played out near the mid-point of the miniseries four-hour mini-series *Big Bear* (CBC, Jan. 3 and 4, 9 p.m.), takes place at Fort Pitt, in what is now northwestern Saskatchewan, in the mid-1880s. But the drama faced by the embattled chief has some very modern reverberations. As native leaders and governments wrestle over what rights and obligations still flow from the treaties—including the one eventually signed by Big Bear—the agonizing compromises between the Cree chief continue to take their toll in the form of disease, alcoholism and suicide. "Big Bear could see the inevitability of the change that was coming," says Gil Cardinal, an Edmonton-born Métis who cowrote and directed the \$8.5-million drama. "He was looking for equality, fairness—a way for his people not to be kicked away on a reserve, but to be self-sufficient. All of those challenges are still with us."

Based on the 1973 historical novel *The Treacheries of Big Bear* by Edmonton author Rudy Wiebe, the miniseries picks up the story in 1876, the year when Big Bear's fellow chiefs signed Treaty No. 6, under which the Indians agreed to surrender all claims to their territory and settle on reserve lands. Big Bear, portrayed with quiet dignity by veteran native actor Gordon Tootoosik (Son of 80, *Legend of the Field*), balks at giving up his land rights for a few trinkets and \$5 a year for each band member. In a telling sequence, he informs a government agent, "We know how it is when you set a fox trap. You scatter pieces of meat all around. But when the fox is in the trap, you let it out."

Big Bear fails to convince his fellow chiefs to take a united stand in denouncing the treaty since renegotiated. And by 1882, with his followers dying of starvation and disease, he



Depression (left),
Rudy Cardinal
cowrote producers

finally agree to sign on. But Big Bear continues to insist moving to a reservation—and for this, the government cuts off its aid to his people. Starving and angry, Big Bear's warriors—including his best-tempered son, Little Star Man (Lorant Cardinal)—agree to join forces with Louis Riel, who is preparing to mount a rebellion on behalf of the equally beleaguered Métis. This leads to the infamous Frog Lake massacre of 1885, at which Cree warriors kill nine whites—including two priests and an independent trader—while Big Bear runs and the leaders, shouting "Stop, Stop!" to an avowed pacifist.

Although Big Bear always cautioned against violence, he turned himself in to the authorities and was charged with two murders. In a climactic scene in a Regina courthouse, Tootoosik mixes the register of his character's voice for the first time in nearly four hours, treating him with the anger of a violent man. "You have taken our liberties, our strength," he bellows while accusing. "The land is torn up. Black with fire, empty. You have done this, and there is nothing left now." Unmoved, the judge sentences Big Bear to three years at the Stoney Mountain Penitentiary. After falling ill, he is released in March, 1887, and died in early 1888.

To recreate Big Bear's story, Gil Cardinal took his cameras, and now close to its source, shooting for eight weeks his last summer on the Plains. Most of the scenes were shot outdoors. While that meant contending with plenty of sun, mud and Saskatchewan wood ticks, it also allowed Cardinal to set the action against the backdrop of the broad prairie slopes and rolling plains that defined Big Bear's universe. "This is a western story and that's where it had to be told," says Cardinal. "This is where the spirit of the story lives."

Cardinal's last little detail as to who should play the title character. In addition to being a gifted actor, 50-year-old Tootoosik was born on Saskatchewan's Poundmaker Reserve, where Big Bear is buried. Tootoosik's great-grandfather was Chief Poundmaker's brother "Gordon" in the land of those people," says Cardinal. "He has carried this story within him for a long time."

Woodson, who, as a child, recalls being told stories about

Big Bear, says he drew on some of the darker episodes in his own life to portray the tragic side of the Cree chief. The son of an early Indian rights activist, John Tootoosik, the actor remembers being taken away at age 13 to a residential school, where he was forbidden to speak his own language. If he or his siblings spoke Cree, they were branded "little Crees"—a name against his father who helped organize what would later become the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. "I drew on those very bitter feelings I had as a child to do Big Bear," he says, "and I worked."

Tootsoosik is not the only cast member of *Big Bear* with an intimate tie to the original protagonists. Willowood's native actress Tootoosik (Dances With Wolves, *Monty Python*), who plays Big Bear's wife, Running Second, recently discovered that her great-grandfather was a member of the Cree chief's

tribe. Cardinal says she jumped at the chance to participate in the multi-generational story of her own people for the native leader. "Big Bear believed in what was right for human beings," adds Cardinal. "That's all he was saying."

ing life had all sorts of good and reasonable solutions that were just ignored—and he's still not being believed to."

Shooting a television series about such a revered figure, and on First Nations lands, required some artistic compromise. For example, a plot line regarding the spiritual journey of the Cree chief was dropped. The series' director, Cardinal, says Big Bear performed at Poundmaker's reserve in 1884 as an effort to unite the Cree. The producers agreed to drop that scene after the Pasqua elites and Tootoosik and that removing the dance on film would amount to sacrilege. While he understands and accepts that decision, Wiebe regrets the lost opportunity. "We're missing part of the story of what made Cree culture a magnificent thing," he says.

What remains, though, is still a remarkable achievement: a big-budget, mainstream production about a small chapter in Canadian history told almost entirely from the Cree point of view—and with native actors in all the key roles. For Big Bear, who designed near his end of his life over what the future held for his people, that might be the most fitting tribute of all. □

A LASTING FASCINATION

Rudy Wiebe has been reading about the story of Big Bear for most of his adult life. In 1973, Wiebe published *The Treacheries of Big Bear*, winner of that year's Governor General's Award for fiction. The historical novel was the result of four years of painstaking research, including a trip to New York City's American Museum of Natural History to view Big Bear's sacred medicine bundle. Since then, the 64-year-old Edmonton author has published over a half-dozen other novels, plays, short story collections and nonfiction books, among them this year's *Stolen Life*, which he cowrote with convicted murderer (and great-granddaughter of Big Bear) Wayne Johnson.

In between, there were several attempts to adapt Wiebe's epic novel for the screen, culminating in *Big Bear*, the CBC miniseries that Wiebe cowrote with director Gil Cardinal. The author's fascination with Big Bear has its roots in the happenstance of birth. Wiebe was born in 1934 on a homestead at Sparrowhawk, Sask., just 45 km away from where Big Bear was born more than a century earlier. When Wiebe realized that his schooling had taught him almost

nothing about the native uprising that took place in his own backyard in the 1880s, he became intrigued—and moved. "Big Bear was always known as a bad Indian," says Wiebe. "But the only bad thing that history told us about him was that he refused to sign the treaty. Well, you start to look at it from the Cree point of view, and that may not be the best thing to do."

Wiebe, the son of Russian-Mennonite immigrants, was also drawn to Big Bear's intense spirituality. "He understood that you cannot give away the gifts the Great Spirit has given you," says Wiebe. "The Creator has given you land, buffalo—that's how you live. And this is why Big Bear fights the treaties so much. Because the white men are taking away the gifts of the Great Spirit."

After more than three decades of tracking Big Bear—from his birthplace near the North Saskatchewan River to his final buffalo hunt in Montana to his grave on the Poundmaker Reserve—does Wiebe feel he's at last closed the book on the chief's life? The author responds with a hearty laugh. "Well, I don't know," he says. "The old man has incredible power. You don't want to underestimate him."

B.B. in Calgary



Wiebe, drawn to Big Bear's spirituality

Allan Fotheringham



Why lobbyists should keep their mouths shut

The problem with people who blab is that they don't have very good manners. They blab so much and boast so much and puff so much that they can't possibly remember all the blabbing and boasting and puffing.

This is the predicament Tom d'Aquino finds himself in at the moment. The poster boy for Corporate Canada is winning publicly because he's been embarrassed. He's embarrassed because his big mouth has been caught, and exposed. However, in Pete Newman's old life-size tape recorder that sat on d'Aquino's desk in full view.

When you or I, full of yourself, caught up with the brilliance of your own eloquence, you often forget that deadly life-size tape recorder is sitting there in all its splendour. Newman has made a fortune and his for-profit registration, because it's amazing what high tails will kick when you better them a bit. It's how bartenders make a living.

Tom's boy is the "president and chief executive" as he signs himself at the Business Council on National Issues. Meaning he's the flick, the lobbyist, the shill, for 150 corporations in Canada who control \$1.9 trillion in assets and annual revenues of \$600 billion.

Those guys who play with big money don't like a flick who blabs so much. He's paid very handsomely in fact to do the opposite—own secrets in Ottawa and get legislation favourable to big business but remain the unbreakable. You're not supposed to blab secrets into the most dangerous tape recorder in the land.

Also, Tom the flick fell into the spider's web weaved by Newman who has confided that he sometimes, when interviewing the high and mighty, perhaps he's doing off out of boredom and the tapes expose it. Turns out even Newman's outrageous secrets is so as to make him up.

Newman spent hours for hours, for the highly embarrassed d'Aquino blabbed his little guts out for an entire chapter—*"Talking Over the National Agenda"*—in the best-seller *Tobacco*.

It's clear from his winning and loving that d'Aquino has been roundly spanked by his boss from bosses who pay him to keep his

mouth shut and just get results. He is the corporate equivalent of the lips lobbyist Andy Scott, who couldn't even remember what he had said on that airplane and couldn't recall whether his seminar was male or female.

Here's Tom boy boasting on pages 122 and 126 how he had lunch in 1981 in the Centre Block office of Commerce and Corporate Affairs Minister Anne Clavel and offering "suggestions" on how to change Canada's competition law and how to "get rid of the Commerce branch and put somebody in there who'd be more constructive." Overall, according to Tommy, replied: "That's fine."

You've got a deal!

BCNI assembled a team of 35 lawyers and got its bill. As Newman firmly concludes: "It was the only time in the history of capitalism that any country allowed its anti-monopoly legislation to be written by the very people it was meant to police."

Here's Tomboy on page 151, thanks to that pesky tape recorder, boasting about running into Brian Mulroney on Avenue Avenue in Rockville and buying the seeds for Mulroney's removal on free trade. Tapes are deadly things, as Richard Nixon found out, and Tom boy now doesn't like what Newman's tapes found him saying: "Tom, meet Andy Scott."

Here's Tom boy on page 158, at a pork industrial dinner in Rockville, making fun of Jean Charest's accent and boasting how he shared the future PM down.

Here's Tom boy on page 159 boasting that under the BCNI and his brilliant leadership Canada's business community has had "the most influence on public policy" at any time since 1980. "All the gov-

ernments, all the major parties... have adopted the agendas we've been fighting for in the past two decades."

In plowing through the Newman tapes on d'Aquino, which could fill half a basket, one finds even more astonishing boasts that Newman didn't use in his book, perhaps saving them for another day. Tom boy boasts that his ideas led to the Calgary declaration, wherein nine of the provinces laid down one of their money-hungry clients to smother out to Quebec.

Not to mention the blab on the tapes but not in the book—that it was he, boy flick, who persuaded Stéphane Dion to join the Christian cabinet. He does not admit, damn it, to have incited the telephone, or the telegraph, or the game of lacrosse, but perhaps the very tape recorder collapsed by then.

One is not surprised, from reading his letter (in *Maclean's*) last week, that Tom boy is embarrassed by my reporting of what Newman reported that Tom boy said. I am not surprised he is winning, since it's obvious the BCNI nabobs have taken their flick to the woodshed for his big mouth.

If he really thinks I have misrepresented what he said, I await his call. And we get his tapes.



WHEN CHRYSLER'S ENGINEERS
WERE GIVEN A BLANK SHEET
THEY CAME UP WITH THE 300M.

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THE SAME THING HAPPENED WITH
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